THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE Pakistan History Conference

(EIGHTH SESSION)

HELD AT

PESHAWAR

under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

1958

Compiled by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

★

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI-5

1961

Price Rs. 10/-

S. 20/-

THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

Pakistan History Conference

(EIGHTH SESSION)

HELD AT

PESHAWAR

under the auspices of the

Pakistan Historical Society

1958

Compiled by

DR. S. MOINUL HAQ

★

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY
30 NEW KARACHI CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING SOCIETY
KARACHI-5

PREFACE

I am glad to be able to say that the Proceedings of the Eighth Session of the Pakistan History Conference are ready for distribution. The Proceedings of the Seventh Session are still in the press, but we are sure they will also be published soon.

The Eighth Session of the Conference was attended by some distinguished scholars from foreign countries. The well-known Orientalist, Professor H. A. R. Gibb, read a Paper on " Factors of Cultural Divergence". This has been published in the *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, Part II.

Karachi : S. MOINUL HAQ
July, 1961.

PAKISTAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(*Office-bearers*)

President	Mr. Fazlur Rahman
Vice-Presidents	Dr. I. H. Qureshi Mr. A. B. A. Haleem
Treasurer	Dr. Mahmud Husain
General Secretary and Director of Research	Dr. S. Moinul Haq
Joint Secretary	Mirza Ali Azhar

MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. M. B. Ahmad.

Mr. A. H. Qarni.

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi.

Dr. A. Halim.

Maulvi Zafar Hasan.

Mr. Fazli-Karim Fazli.

Mian Mohammad Sadullah.

Dr. A. Rahim.

Dr. A. H. Dani

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1958

By

Dr. S. Moinul Haq,

General Secretary of the Pakistan Historical Society

The Eighth Session of the Pakistan History Conference was held at Peshawar on the 22nd, 23rd and 24th February, 1958, at the invitation of the University of Peshawar.

The inaugural session was held on the 22nd February, 1958, at 10 a. m. in the Khaiber Union Hall. After recitation from the Holy Qur'an Dr. Raziuddin Siddiqi, Vice-Chancellor, Peshawar University and Chairman, Reception Committee, read his address of welcome. It was followed by the reading of messages by Dr. S. Moinul Haq, Honorary General Secretary of the Pakistan Historical Society. After these messages he read the report of the Pakistan Historical Society for the year 1957.

The Presidential Address was then delivered by Dr. I. H. Quraishi, General President-elect of the Conference. The Conference then split into two sections :

(1) Islamic History Section :

President.......................Dr. A. J. Halipota,
Professor of Arabic,
Sind University
Hyderabad (W. Pak.).

Secretary.........................Mr. Mazharul Haq,
Lecturer, Peshawar University.

The meeting of the Section was held on the 23rd February, 1958, at 10 a.m. at the Khaiber Union Hall. Dr. A. J. Halipota delivered his Presidential Address. After the Presidential Address papers were read by delegates and scholars. The papers submitted

by scholars who were not present were taken as read. This Section was marked by participation of two distinguished foreign scholars, namely Professor Hamilton Gibb of Harward University and Professor Annemarie Schimmel of Ankara University.

(2) Hind-Pakistan History Section :

President.....................Professor Abdul Ali Khan,
Peshawar University,
Peshawar.

Secretary.......................Dr. Munawwar Khan,
Peshawar University,
Peshawar.

The meeting of the Section was held on the 24th February, 1958, at 10.30 a.m. in the Khaiber Union Hall. Professor Abdul Ali Khan delivered his Presidential Address. After the Address papers were read by delegates and scholars who were present. The papers submitted by scholars who were not present were taken as read.

On the last day of the session the delegates to the Conference were invited to a reception at the Government House, Peshawar, and were received by Mr. M. H. Zuberi, Commissioner, Peshawar Division. The Reception was followed by a lecture on "Historical Places in Turkey" by Professor Dr. A. Schimmel. She also showed a number of slides. Next morning (25th February, 1958) the delegates were taken on an excursion and visited the Warsak Dam and the Khyber Pass.

Finance :

The recurring grant-in-aid from the Government of Pakistan was raised to Rs. 50,000. We are grateful to the Ministry of Education, Government of Pakistan, for raising the grant to Rs. 50,000. The following amounts were realized through the sale of publications etc. :

(a) Journal—Rs. 719.

(b) Publications—Rs. 10,743-3.

The membership fee brought a sum of Rs. 1,037-2.

RESEARCH AND PUBLICATIONS

1. **Proceedings :**

During the year under review we have been able to publish the *Proceedings* of the First Session of the Pakistan History Conference held at Khairpur in 1955. The *Proceedings* of the Sixth Session held at Karachi in 1956, will be ready in the next month.

2. **The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli :**

Another work published during the year is "The Administration of the Sultanate of Dehli" by Dr. I. H. Quraishi. This is a new revised edition of this authoritative work. It had been out of print for several years.

3. **A History of Arabic Writing**, By Dr. Adolph Grohmann :

It is in the press and will be ready by the end of the next month.

4. **Khafi Khan's History of Alamgir :**

An English translation of the 565 pages of *Muntakhabul Lubab* dealing with Alamgir, with notes and introduction by Dr. S. Moinul Huq, will be ready for the press by the end of this year.

5. **Dictionary of Islam :**

The Executive Committee has approved a scheme for the publication of a *Dictionary of Islam* in English. The need of such a work is obvious. The people in the West use encyclopaedias and dictionaries containing contributions by scholars whose interpretation of many a term pertaining Islamic teachings is not always correct.

6. **The Great Revolution of 1857 :**

The single volume history of the Revolution will be ready for the press in about three months' time.

7. **Ibn Sa'dis Tabaqat and Ibn Khallikans's Wafayat :**

We have requested the Ministry of Education to give the Society a special grant for the publication of the English translations of Ibn Sa'd's monumental *Tabaqat*, and Ibn Khallikan's *Wafayat*. If the Government give the grant we shall be able to start work on these projects during the next financial year.

8. **A History of the Freedom Movement, Volume II :**

The second volume of the series is in the press and it is hoped that it will be ready by the middle of this year.

9. **Dhakhirat-ul-Khawanin :**

We propose to send the first volume to the press during the course of this year.

10. **Graham's Life of Sayyid Ahmad Khan :**

This could not be sent to the press for lack of funds. As we are in a position to get it printed we will send it to the press.

11. **Sirat**

A microfilm of the fragment of Ibn Ishaq's *Sirat* has been obtained from the Qarawin Mosque at Fez. We have started the work of editing it and it is hoped that we shall be able to send it to the press in autumn this year.

12. **Translation of Dr. Sprenger's das Leben und die Lahre des Muhammad :**

Dr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi has been entrusted with the work of translating Dr. Sprenger's *Des Leben und die Lahare des Muhammad* in three volumes. He has already translated about 200 pages of the first volume.

13. **Hujjatullah il Balighah :**

We propose to publish the English translations of the most important work of Shah Waliullah and other great thinkers of Islam. The translation of *Hujjatullah il Balighah* is already in hand. Mr. Mahmud Hasan Khan is doing it ; he has already completed more than one-fourth of the work.

14. **Translation of Ibn Bajah's Ilm al-Nafs :**

The English translation of Ibn Bajah's *Ilm al-Nafs* by Dr. S. Hasan is in the press.

15. **Maktubat of Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi :**

An abridged edition of the text of the *Maktubat* with an introduction and notes is under preparation. This work has been entrusted to Dr. Fazlur Rahman who is working at the McGill University, Canada.

16. **Memoirs :**

A. **The Memoirs of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan :** edited by Dr. S. Moinul Haq. has been published.

B. **Arabic Science in the West :**

This was published in instalments in the *Journal*.

I am sorry to mention that owing to the sad and untimely death of Dr. U. M. Daudpota, we had to give up our project of publishing the English translation of Ibn Khaldun's *Muqaddamah*.

LIBRARY :

We have been able to add a number of books to our library during the year under review. At present we have 2,077 volumes.

1. English......................846
2. Arabic......................431
3. Persian......................117
4. Urdu......................596
5. Other languages 87
6. Catalogues.................... 67 (in different languages)

JOURNAL :

The Journal is making good progress. We cannot expect that the number of subscribers of a learned journal would be very large, but scholars and institutions in Pakistan and other countries are becoming interested in it. We are sending it in exchange to the following journals :

PAKISTAN :

1. *Mah-e-Nau*,...................................... Karachi.
2. *Anjuman-i-Islamia Magazine*,...................... „
3. Urdu,.. „
4. *Payam-i-Haq*,.................................... „
5. *Qaumi Zuban*,.................................... „
6. *Faran*,.. „
7. *Al-Ilm*,... „
8. *Economic Digest*,................................. „
9. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Pakistan*,.......... Dacca.
10. *Saqafat*,.. Lahore.
11. *Iqbal*,.. „

FOREIGN COUNTRIES :

1. *Islamic Culture*,..Hyderabad (Deccan).
2. *Nawa-i-Adab*,..Bombay.
3. *Burhan*,..Delhi.
4. *Al-Andalus*,..Madrid (Spain).
5. *Bulletin*,..Munich (Germany).
6. *Encounter*,..London.
7. *Ma'arif*,..Azamgarh.
8. *Middle East Journal*,..Washington.
9. *Journal of Indian History*,..Trivandrum.
10. *Sab Ras*,..Hyderabad (Deccan).
11. *The William and Mary Quarterly*..Williamburg.
12. *Preuves*,..Paris.
13. *Belleten* (Turk Tarih Kurumu)..Ankara (Turkey).
14. *Confluence*,..Cambridge (U.S.A.).
15. *Archiv Orientalni*,..Praha.
16. *Majalatul Baris*,..Paris.
17. *India Quarterly*,..New Delhi.
18. *Majallah al Majma al Ilmi al Arabi*..Demscus.
19. *The Journal of the Royal Commonwealth Society*, ...London.
20. *East and West*,..Rome.
21. *Pakistan Postasi*,..Turkey.
22. *History*,..London.
23. *Saqafat-ul-Hind*, ...New Delhi.
24. *Urdu Adab*,..Aligarh.
25. *Agra University Journal of Research*..Agra.
26. *Middle East Studies*,..Tokyo (Japan).
27. *The Zinbun Gakuho*, ... Kyoto (Japan).
28. *The Toho Gakuho*,.. ,, ,,
29. *Universitas*,..Stuttgart (Germany).

30. *Revue D'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*, Paris.
31. *Ukrainian Review*,..................................Munich (Germany).
32. *The East Turkic Review*,............................ ,,
33. *The World of Islam*,..................................Leiden.
34. *Ibla*..Tunis.

MEETINGS AND LECTURES :

The Society organized lectures of two distinguished foreign scholars :

(1) Dr. Bertold Spular, Director, Institute of Islamic Studies, Hamburg.	*Sub* : *Date* : *Place* :	Muslim Historiography in Persia. 10th January, 1958. Office of the Society.
(2) Prof. Dr. Annemarie Schimmel, Professor, University of Ankara.	*Sub* : *Date* : *Place*:	The origin and early development of Sufism. 27th October, 1958. Office of the Society.

Two other foreign scholars, Prof. C. Smith (McGill University, Canada) and Dr. Anderlivi Edmonds, Italian Embassy in Pakistan, also visited the Society.

Besides the office-bearers of the Society the following Pakistani scholars utilized the Library in connection with their research works :

(1) Mr. S. M. Ikram.
(2) Mr. Abdul Latif Sherwani.
(3) Mr. Sharif-al-Mujahid.
(4) Mufti Intizamullah Shihabi.
(5) Mr. Qudrutullah (National College).
(6) Miss Tajdar Bano (Karachi University).
(7) Dr. Y. A. Hashmi (,, ,,).

I thank the office-bearers and members of the Society and all those scholars who have taken interest in our work and cooperated with us in our research activities.

The Significance of History Conference work reviewed

By

Sharif al-Mujahid

Has history some useful purpose to serve? Does it influence a nation's present and its future? If so, what, then, is its significance?

And, moreover, is it an escape from the present; or something dead and gone and, therefore, something to be forgotten? Or, is it something that provides a lesson in the present, and, therefore, something to be studiously studied and benefited from?

The answers to these queries are so obvious that it looks like begging the question. And yet a large number of otherwise quite intelligent people have acted, and even today act, in such a blatantly foolish manner as to make an observer feel that the lesson of history has been, or is, lost on them, as to necessitate the posing of such queries time and again.

Quite recently, Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi availed the occasion of his Presidential Address to the Pakistan History Conference, to ask such and other queries and to provide suitable answers to them—perhaps in an attempt to reach the clarion call of History to the ears of those who seem to pay but scant regard to its lessons.

History and politics are so inextricably intertwined with each other that a discussion of one, no matter on what level, is impossible without drawing on the other. No wonder, then, that Dr. Quraishi's address at the History Conference, though dealing with an academic subject ("The Conception of History") on an academic level, was yet not without certain political overtones.

No doubt, Dr. Qureshi might have had the present Pakistani situation in his mind when he chose to punctuate his address with such political overtones which may legitimately be taken as a timely comment on the country's politics and political leaders. But, yet, one who has followed his masterly discourse on history cannot but be struck by the aptness of his illustrations (which, incidentally, account for these political overtones), and by the way he had weaved them into his arguments so as to make them an integral part of his discourse.

For instance, in his discussion on the disastrous consequences of harbouring a wrong conception both of time and of society, he pointed out how such a conception could lead a corrupt official even to hope that "his progeny will find security in the future. He thinks that his misdeeds," he continued, " are isolated phenomena which do not affect the environment for the future. Those selfish politicians who corrupt the political life of their country with utter disregard for the future belong to the same category."

Warning the present generation against forgetting "the infamy which surrounds the names of the later day Mughul nobility which played the same game and thought, like the present miscreants, that they were playing that game with impunity, yet who bequeathed to their descendants two centuries of servitude and misery", Dr. Qureshi posed the pertinent question, "Where are the children of the Saiyids of Barahah, who thought that they were entrenching themselves and their progeny by inviting the Marathas to Delhi ?"

He, therefore, asked "the Mir Ja'fars and Saiyids of Barahah of today [to] learn something from their prototypes of yesterday".

And, yet, as we have remarked earlier, all this was not in the least extraneous, much less irrelevant to the subject under discussion. For, in invoking these incidents and in sounding these warnings, he was only building up the argument how "it is this foolish conception of time which leads many an ignorant person to question the value of time," and of history.

And whatever be our attitute towards the past, the learned historian pointed out, "we cannot escape it". It is not just the pleasant part of the past, but the entire past which clings to a people. And, what is more, it is usually the period when decay and despair seized a people by the shoulder, which is more instructive. Hence the contention that "the 'articulate audible voice of the past' which reaches us through history can be shut out by a people only at the risk of annihilation".

So that in shutting overselves up from this "articulate audible voice of the past," we are indeed treading dangerous ground. And it seems even the lesson of our moral collapse during the 18th century has been forgotten, and like those "whose hearts and ears are sealed and whose eyes have been covered," we are ourselves today confronted with a moral collapse and are sinking almost daily.

It is, however, gratifying to note that Dr. Qureshi should have reminded us of these and other lessons from history even in an academic discussion on "The Conception of History" (which, perhaps, in other hands, should have become what Carlyle calls "dry-as-dust"), and should have related them to the requirements of the present Pakistani situation.

Like Sayyid Jamal-ud-Din al-Afghani, he seems to shun an ivory-towered role for the scholar, and to believe that a scholar's place is in the very pell-mell of life. "What use is that lamp which fails to illuminate even its surroundings?"—the 19th century preacher and prophet of pan-Islamism had once remarked while discussing the role of the scholar in society. Those scholars and scientists who try to escape from the rough and tumble of the present, would do well to ponder over this remark as well as to take the cue from Dr. Qureshi's address.

Not only in terms of Dr. Qureshi's address and its contents, but also in several other respects, the recently-concluded session of the Pakistan Historical Conference was an event of some significance.

For one thing, it indicated more than ever how much dissatisfied our historians and teachers and students of history are

with the existing works of Islamic history and the Muslim period in India, and, for that reason, what a tremendous job awaits our historians and scholars. For another, it also demonstrated the paucity of real scholars and researchers amongst us, and, because of this very fact, how ill-equipped we are to face the tremendous job ahead of us.

For this unhealthy situation, individuals alone are not to be blamed ; much of the failure should be laid at the door of our leading universities where history continues to remain such a neglected subject.

Of course, much depends on individual initiative and work, but where recognition is not normally forthcoming, even such initiative and work only end up in frustration. After all, what pride could one find in a job, what interest could confirm him in it, where and when he receives no appreciation, not to speak of a reward commensurate with his labours. Idealism alone can hardly sustain one in his literary pursuits, especially in a situation such as this.

So that unless the scholar and the researcher are conceded their due place in society, historical studies, indeed any kind of study, will continue to suffer in this country. While India could produce a whole library on Mr. Gandhi, is it any wonder that we could not, during these eleven years, produce as little as one standard work on our founding father ? The measure of our failure is equally stark in respect of other studies as well.

Against this sombre background, especially in respect of historical studies, it is a little heartening to note that the Pakistan Historical Society is playing a significant role in arousing interest in history and historical subjects.

Thanks to the foresight, devotion and enthusiasm of Mr. Fazlur Rahman, the Society, which was set up in 1950, is now one of the foremost literary organizations in the country. It issues a quarterly; it runs a specialised library ; it publishes research studies and brochures on historical and allied subjects and has now about a dozen publications to its credit.

The history conferences, held each year under its auspices, provide an opportunity to scholars and teachers to meet and discuss subjects of history and to prepare papers on some aspect of history.

The contribution of the History Society to the cause of historical studies cannot, thus, be gainsaid. However, the purpose will perhaps be better served if the Society were to prescribe some minimum standards for the papers contributed at the conferences and carefully scrutinise them before being allowed to be read at its session.

At the Peshawar History Conference, there were, however, some papers which made some significant contribution in illuminating some aspects of, or periods in, history. Dr. Mahmud Husain, who has made several studies of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and the Mujahidin movement, contributed a paper on the events leading to the famous Ambala trials. Dr. Amir Hasan Siddiqi attempted to discuss the character of the Umayyad Caliphate from a new angle whereas Dr. Abbas al-Hamdani's paper on "The Lost literature of the Isma'ilis" helped out the Fatimid cultural contribution in a more balanced and proper perspective. Dr. Nabibux Baloch's paper on pre-Muslim Ghazni was very much appreciated whereas Mr. S. M. Jaffar's on "The Pitfalls of History" was both interesting and instructive.

Among the other highlights of the Conference, mention should be made of Sir Hamilton A. R. Gibb's address, the presidential addresses of Dr. Abdul Wahid Halepola (Sind University) and Mr. Abdul Aly Khan (Peshawar University) in the Islamic History and Hind-Pakistan sections, and of a very instructive trip to the Khyber.

Quoting extensively from Joseph McCabe and Dr. Mahmud Husain, Dr. Halepota pointed out how historical researches on Islamic subjects had followed a particular pattern, how Islamic history had suffered through Muslim negligence and non-Muslim prejudice, and how the situation could be remedied. He drew the attention of the scholars to the interpretations of Islamic history given by Shah Waliullah and Maulana Ubaidullah Sindhi,

and to their methods of approach. He also pled not only for the revision of text-books on Islamic history, but also for the writing of books like Draper's on the Intellectual Development of Europe.

In his address, Mr. Aly Khan suggested that the views of non-Muslim historians be carefully examined and suitable (and not forced) counter-arguments be produced to fight their bias. He also pled for the establishment of research institutions by the Pakistani universities and for co-ordinating their work with that of the Regional Directorates of Archives.

—*Dawn*, Karachi,
March 9, 1958.

[illegible] He also [illegible] for the [illegible] Muslim history. He also [illegible] the writing of [illegible] like Draper's on the Intellectual Development of Europe.

In his address, Mr. [illegible] suggested that the [illegible] should be carefully examined [illegible] arrangement [illegible] He also pleaded for the establishment of research institutions by the Pakistani universities and for co-ordinating their work with that of the Regional Directorate of Archives.

—Dawn, Karachi,
March 9, 1958.

ADDRESSES AND SPEECHES

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Ishtiaq Husain Quraishi

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am deeply conscious of the honour done to me by the Pakistan Historical Society in asking me for the second time to preside over a session of the Pakistan History Conference. Perhaps the intention was to justify the adage that history repeats itself; because it was in this very city in the year 1954 that I had the honour of presiding over a session of this conference. To me this second invitation has been of special significance, because there can lurk no such doubts in my mind as found their way in my thoughts when I was elected president last time, for today I am not trammelled with any office and the choice could not have fallen upon me for any reasons other than academic. For a student of history there can be no gratification greater than a recognition by the historians of his country of such service as he might have rendered to the subject. In my own instance this gratification is marred only by the feeling that my contribution is far too humble and insignificant for such an honour.

Historical studies in this country owe a debt of gratitude to the President of Pakistan Historical Society, Mr. Fazlur Rahman. It was through his foresight as Minister of Education that a Pakistan History Board was appointed in 1949. It was a modest beginning, but it was a step in the right direction. In 1952 was appointed a Board of Editors for preparing a history of the freedom movement giving in some detail the part played by the Muslims of this sub-continent in the attainment of a sovereign status. He was also responsible for the establishment of the Pakistan Historical Records and Archives Commission and the National Museum of Pakistan. It was not only in his official

capacity that he took interest in history; he played an important part in the establishment of the Pakistan Historical Society and has, all these days, guided its activities with singular devotion. History in this country has been fortunate in finding such an ardent supporter, and we, students of history, are grateful to him for his enthusiasm and support.

The first volume of *A History of the Freedom Movement* has now been published. The general plan of the entire book is in accordance with the modern concept of history, which is now being increasingly utilized for understanding the present. It is a source of gratification that our historians are fully aware of this role of history.

The conception of history has changed from time to time during the ages and each change has left an indelible mark upon historiography which it sometimes finds difficult to obliterate; nor indeed is there any reason why history, a recorder and preserver of the past, should try to overcome its own past. All the conceptions which have ruled the minds of historians have worked themselves like warp and woof into the fabric of history, because they have been related to the different attitudes which men have adopted towards the past. Some, like Longfellow, have wanted "the dead Past" to "bury its dead"; others have felt attracted to it for the sake of curiosity, because the mystery of the past is a challenge to the inquisitive mind; the past may provide the substance of pride to some and of humiliation to others; some may seek strength from the past, like Robinson Jeffers, who said,

"Lend me the stone strength of the past and I will lend you
"The wings of the future, because I have them";

to others it may be full of dread; as Tennyson puts it,

"Let us alone. Time driveth onwards fast,
And in a little while our lips are dumb.
Let us alone. What is it that will last?
All things are taken from us, and become
Portions and parcels of the dreadful past."

To some the past offers an escape from the present; they "feel safe in the hallowed quiets of the past"; others, like Carlyle, can

not shut their ears to "the articulate audible voice of the Past" even "when the body and material substance of it has altogether vanished like a dream". As all experience soon recedes into the past, it becomes the store house of human wisdom. To some the past is gone and dead, and others feel its presence in the present. Historians like poets have been subject to these moods; sometimes because of personal predilections, but mostly because of the prevailing fashions of thought and attitudes. It would be useful to analyse the influence of this thinking upon the conceptions of history and is utility.

To those who see nothing of value in the past, history is useless. This attitude may be the result of a wrong conception of time itself. Instead of its continuity the mind may be focussed upon its transience; if time just passes away and that is the end of it, it is futile to think of it and even more useless to probe into it. The indifference towards the past may also be the result of an obsession with metaphysics, when transient time seems to be of no significance at all. "The best example of the first attitude is furnished by those who have been so obsessed with the present that they can think neither of the past nor of the future. They think that whatever they do is isolated in time as well as in space and, therefore, their actions have no repercussions at all. For instance a corrupt official who takes bribes and yet hopes that his progeny will find security in the future has a wrong conception both of time and society. He thinks that his misdeeds are isolated phenomena which do not affect the environment for the future. Those selfish politicians who corrupt the political life of their country with utter disregard for the future belong to the same category. For them history has no lessons, nor they present any connection with the future. They forget the infamy which surrounds the names of the later day Mughul nobility which played the same game and thought, like the present miscreants, that they were playing that game with impunity, yet who bequeathed to their descendants two centuries of servitude and misery. Where are the children of the Saiyids of Barahah, who thought they were entrenching themselves and their progeny by inviting the Marathas to Delhi? Let the Mir Ja'fars and Saiyids of

Barahah of today learn something from their prototypes of yesterday". It is this foolish conception of time which leads many an ignorant person to question the value of history. How often do we not come across seemingly educated persons who adopt an attitude of complete contempt towards historical studies, and if they are too polite to show their contempt, they express feelings of amused tolerance towards such a useless hobby as the cultivation of the Muse of History. More intolerable are those who think that all wisdom lies embedded in physical sciences and physical sciences alone, who would close all institutions of liberal education and convert the world into a huge workshop. No one would, in the world of today, deny the utility of physical sciences, but their limitations also should be clearly understood. They bestow power upon their devotees but not the wisdom to use that power. That wisdom comes, among other things, from an understanding of history.

Those who are so obsessed with metaphysics that they look upon time only as an insignificant particle of eternity have no use for history. For them all wisdom lies in speculative thought; this world being transient is not worthy of their attention. And even if some attention were to be given to it, a theoretical process of reasoning irrespective of the hard facts of actual happenings would give them all the light they seek. If wisdom is not to be acquired by deduction from facts as they exist, then a fact is only useful as an illustration of a truth which has been found independently. It, of course, follows that fiction may be better fitted than fact for this purpose, hence parables and fables come more handy to this kind of reasoning. This is the reason why the great Hindu civilization, which has given the world some of the most intricate speculative thought, never cared for history. Most Sanskrit literature has a didactic quality in it, but this quality has found its culmination in the Panchatantras and the Hitopadesa, where a large collection of fables and parables are woven into a serial story, the main purpose of which is to illustrate moral truths or points of common sense behaviour. The same quality persists in the Jataka literature. This attitude may result in a dual personality because the facts of life do not

fit into the framework of thought; it may create a tendency to live in a world of unreality where the reality seems to be irrelevant. What is worse from the point of view of the historian, it may create a tendency to ignore facts which are inconvenient, or to find interpretations of facts which are unreal. In popular mind fact and fiction get mixed up; how many of us do not have Hindu friends who are educated and yet who believe that the ancient Hindus were fully aware of the theory and practice of aeronautics, because the Hindu mythology depicts the gods as flying from one place to another in *biwanas*? It would be extremely unfair to deduce from this that the Hindus are the only people who suffer from such tendencies; unfortunately we all create our fictions and then begin to believe in them to the exclusion of facts. For all of us who suffer from this disability, historical truth is the only corrective.

Those who have felt attracted to the past for its seemingly mysterious character and have been led into probing into it are the architects of the edifice of history, because, without curiosity, the boundaries of human knowledge cannot be expanded. If we search for motives in our own hearts, even the most scientific of us historians are goaded by our curiosity, otherwise historical studies, which fascinate and interest us, would become burdensome and uninspiring. And yet curiosity can be of different kinds; there is the curiosity of the antiquarian, who just wants to know something of the past, the history of a ruin or a building or the ancestry of a family. This kind of curiosity, at best, furnishes the raw material of history, but seldom goes anywhere near an attempt to understand the significance of facts or their inter-relation. As more and more facts are dug out in so many ways, their value decreases unless they are sorted out and reduced to some discipline of synthesis.

Those who probe into the past only for the glorification of their forefathers are a source of positive danger to the utility as well as the veracity of history. It was Agathon who said that even God cannot change the past; Samuel Butler has used this statement for condemning the role which some prejudiced historians have played. He says, "It has been said that although

God cannot alter the past, historians can; it is perhaps because they can be useful to Him in this respect that He tolerates their existence". One is tempted to add that it needs God's immeasurable tolerance and compassion to permit the existence of this species, because, if history is to serve any purpose and is not to be reduced to the status of fiction, it must discard ulterior motives. It is this breed of historians which makes history a hand maiden of politics and reduces it to the level of national propaganda. When nations had not arisen, history was written by such writers to flatter monarchs and potentates; but this was comparatively a less objectionable pastime, because it only glorified some persons and painted them in hues of greatness and sometimes even of sanctity when they did not possess these qualities; but the modern historian, who writes to flatter a nation and tries to justify all its actions whether right or wrong, sows the seeds of international discord. If nations learn the simple truth that they do not become great by pretending that they were great or free from faults which detracted from their glory, a good deal of bad history would be eliminated. Similary it is a mark of greatness to acknowledge one's mistakes. The correct remedy of the lapses and shortcomings of the past is not to pretend that they did not exist or that they were virtues, but to make amends for them if it is possible to do so. By their withdrawal from this sub-continent the British won much greater goodwill and merit than ages of pretending that is was good for the people that they should be ruled against their will would have brought them. The past, therefore, should not be treated as a source of false pride; the record of past mistakes is as useful for progress and national existence as the tales of glorious achievement. Those who try to falsify their history do not succeed in changing its course, the chain of cause and effect remains unbroken by such vain efforts, which only take the mind away from the necessary remedies.

Much greater harm is done by those who try to mutilate and distort the history of another people. It is foolish to earn the dislike of a nation by trying to malign it, specially if the historian is dealing with a period which no longer exists and the hatchet

could very well have been buried. Some try deliberately to create feelings of hostility and the desire for revenge through their writings. A national defeat sometimes is exploited for the purpose of inflaming passions. How often have nations not been urged to avenge a Sadowa or an Aduwa and thus led into inflicting suffering upon large masses of humanity ? Sometimes a sense of grievance is created or accentuated against another nation. Sometimes this is done for alienating the feelings of a people from another, sometimes the intensification of the national feeling is the purpose. The record of some historiography in this sub-continent bears ample witness to the truth of this observation. The relations between India and Pakistan perhaps would have been a little better if British and Hindu writers had not thought it fit to distort the history of Muslim rule and to paint it in such lurid colours. Actually even from the purely national point of view, it is a mistake to build up a nation upon negative foundations and a people which inherits a legacy of strong dislikes and aversions, specially for a people in the same region, often finds them serious obstacles in its progress.

This does not mean that history plays no part in building up nations. Indeed it is generally history which makes nations. At the lowest level, the mere fact of living together creates a community of interest which develops the group instinct to an extent that individuals are willing to die for it. However, there are many instances in history where the fact of living together has not been enough to create such deep loyalties as would weld different groups into a viable nation. There arise tensions among groups living within the same area which prove stronger than the common characteristics created by a common environment. History is replete with such examples ; sometimes the tensions have relaxed ; sometimes they have created deep divisions. An analysis of such a situation generally reveals the truth that unless a common habitat creates a common outlook on life, there can live several groups in it without a feeling of unity. This mysterious feeling of oneness is created by a common attitude to the past experience of the inhabitants and to the facts of history. It is a common place to say that nations are created not so much

by geographical proximity as by the cultivation of a common view of history. To the extent that the individuals of a group have a memory of common triumphs and achievements and common failures and humiliations, it is moulded into a single entity, but if the same events produce a feeling of triumph in one section and of humiliation in the other and if this psychological conflict remains unresolved, they can never be moulded into a single people ; our experience in this sub-continent is an ample justification of this view. This will show how necessary it is to instil a sense of a common past among a people if it is to be moulded into a well integrated nation with loyalties seated within the deepest recesses of the heart. This process need not be a falsification of history ; it can be its discovery. Inconvenient facts should not be slurred over ; if they have been the cause of common misfortunes, they should be brought to light. If there is no common history, a group cannot be galvanized simply on the basis of common interests, which may sometimes not bear the strain of conflicts. If there is a common history, it can be a source of great strength ; on the basis of that strength great efforts can be made to build up a great future. This is what Robinson Jeffers means when he talks of the stone strength of the past and the wings of the future in the lines which I quoted earlier in this address. This strength proves of great value in the time of a crisis. It is this kind of strength which finds an expression in Swinburne's famous lines in which he speaks of his country in the following words :

> "All our past acclaims our future : Shakespear's voice and Nelson's hand,
> Milton's faith and Wordsworth's trust in this our chosen and chainless land,
> Bear as witness : come the world against her, England shall yet stand."

True, such sentiments can sometimes sink into insufferable and even dangerous jingoism, but then there is no remedy against lack of proportion and moderation.

They are surely mistaken who look upon the past as graveyard of the present and therefore resent its overpowering authority, because no one can stop the present from flitting into the past. Such an attitude is the negation of history, because if the past is only "dreadful" because it swallows up the pleasant present, then no good can come out of it. In this mood poets forget that the past swallows up the moments of pain and suffering as well. The main point, however, is not that the past swallows up the present; the truth is that the past is the repository of all the presents and the root of all the futures, hence it is not meaningless, much less dreadful. Those who do not care for the past can hardly be careful about the present, because the present is so transient. Of course, as I have indicated earlier, it is possible to go to the other extreme. One may begin to use the memories of the past as an escapism from the hard realities of the present and thus seek security "in the hallowed quiets of the past". This breeds romanticism about the past, a disease from which most of the ancient peoples, who have lost their ancient glory, suffer. They seek to strike a kind of a balance between their past and their present and please themselves by a false identification with their ancestors. The historians of such a people treat them to further doses of the opiate which such peoples love ; like gamblers who have lost all they had once possessed, they drown their sorrows in the cups of this extremely inebriating wine. Such history is worse than worthless because it takes away the sense of present shortcomings from a people which has shown at some stage its capacity for great deeds and provides an easier and a more pleasant alternative to effort. This is the surest method of killing a glorious and possibly a fruikful past ; hence a historiographer who panders to such feelings of the people does immense harm to it.

But whatever be our attitude towards the past, we can never escape it. It should, also, be remembered that it is the entire past which clings to a people and not only the pleasant part of it. This is what is wrong with some historians who emphasize only that part of the past which is pleasant to remember, though often

the period when decay overtook a people is more instructive. The "articulate audible voice of the past" which reaches us through history can be shut out by a people only at the risk of annihilation. This is what is happening today in this country. Who does not know what happened to us in the past as the result of a moral collapse in the eighteenth century, but do we pay any heed to it? We are fully aware of the causes of the loss of our political power in that century, but with a fatality characteristic of those "whose hearts and ears are sealed and whose eyes have been covered", we shut out from our consciousness the lessons which should have been seared into our very souls. Too often we brag of our achievements when we had not been overtaken by decay ; but we forget that our inglorious past is today more with us than our glorious record. It is a perverted sense of history which results in mere gloating over past achievements and practising the evil which ultimately put us in chains. In the heritage of this past all of us are sharers ; when in the eighteenth century our political leaders destroyed with their own hands the edifice which their ancestors had built up with infinite labour in the course of centuries, they brought misery not only to their own progeny but to every one, high and low ; when the efforts of great men had built up the edifice, all had shared in the glory. Everyone had felt what Abbie Farwell Brown has so well portrayed :

> "No matter what my birth may be,
> "No matter where my lot is cast,
> "I am the heir in equity
> "Of all the precious past".

Every one of us is the heir of all that the previous generations have bequeathed us ; whether good or evil, it has come to our share ; it is for us to add to the riches of our good heritage and undo the mischief of the evil which has come to us. Unfortunately at the present moment we are doing the reverse.

Islam rightly claims to be a historic religion. It has existed in the full light of history. It does not recede into the dim corners of pre-history and mythology. But this is not the only reason why it calls itself a historical faith. The *Qur'an* calls the attention of humanity again and again to history;

indeed so great is this insistence of Islam upon history that the unbelievers used to mock at the verses of the *Qur'an* by saying, "These are merely stories of ancient peoples". These facts have not been mentioned so much for illustrating a moral or spiritual teaching as an invitation to ponder over the course of history. Its smaller chapters often contain the essence of the teachings which have been given in the rest of the Book in greater detail. For instance the surah *Ikhlas* is considered to be the essence of the *Qur'an*, because it gives the Islamic view of divinity in a nutshell. Similarly the surah *al-'Asr* gives the Quranic attitude towards history in a few words. To derive that lesson from history, reflection is needed ; and this pondering upon the essence of the past is the main function of the historian. True, the *Qur'an* is mainly concerned with the spiritual and moral development of humanity, therefore, it draws the attention of the reader to the moral aspects of life as reflected in history, nevertheless this reflection can be fruitful in other directions as well. The Muslim historiographers have laid great stress upon the moral purposes of history. They, like others, had their lapses and there were black sheep as well among them, yet on the whole they maintained a high standard of veracity, because most of them regarded the recording of events as a grave responsibility. They tried to record events as if they were witnesses in a court of law, they kept in view the Qur'anic injunction against the distortion of evidence. This was in no small degree due to their concept of history as a vehicle of moral instruction. Such a concept is, however, impossible unless two considerations are present in the mind. The first is that if a certain action has produced a certain consequence in certain circumstances at one time in history, a similar action is likely to produce a similar consequence in similar circumstances at another time. Such a belief seems to be natural, yet it is not so common because, against the background of eternity an isolated action seems to be such a tiny affair and so insignificant that it can hardly create an impression upon the course of history, which, is true to the extent that an insignificant action may not result in a cataclysm, but it is forgotten that a multitude of such actions surely will produce spectacular results.

The other consideration is that life, individual, communal or of the entire species is a series of causes and effects. This is not determinism, because through human volition, new factors can be introduced. And this view of history is absolutely correct. Without believing in this continuation of cause and effect throughout eternity, history can never be scientific, nor can it develop any but an tiquarian interest. The continuity of cause and effect through time is not only a moral notion, it is also the basis of all knowledge and activity. The effect of these notions upon the study of history as well as upon the study of society through history is obvious.

And yet they have not always been put to this use. Among the Muslim historians the name of Ibn Khaldun stands out prominently for having applied his knowlede of history to the study of society. In all probability he was the first in the world to put history to this use, and until recently, he did not have many followers. Among the Muslim historians, the fashion did not catch on, and histories continued to be written mostly as chronicles ; sometimes no attempt was made even to establish some interconnection between the facts. As history remained for a long time merely a record of events without much effort at synthesis, there were many who rightly questioned its utility. There were grave doubts about its veracity as well, because human beings are but indifferent witnesses of events. No man is capable of seeing even a small happening in its entirety, and, therefore, there arise factual differences in the accounts of the same happenings by different recorders even when they do not suffer from any conscious bias. Therefore, what reliance can be put upon a record where bias and dishonesty also may find their way ? If we take isolated small events, there may not be sufficient evidence to reach any conclusion about the veracity of some statement. And then there are millions of events for every one recorded which never attract any notice. All this is true, and for a long time history was open to these objections, and yet it was a conception of history which was at fault and not history itself, because, whereas there can be doubts about isolated facts, the trends emerge fairly clearly from the perusal of history. And against the

background of centuries, these trends are so clearly visible that there can be little doubt in the mind of the historian about their existence. A historian is like a traveller in the realms of the past. While he is roaming in the area, he will miss many a flower and thorn, even many bushes and trees will elude him, but when he has roamed long enough, he will begin to form correct ideas about its physical features and flora and fauna. What he has not seen of the individual items is not so important if he has seen the characteristic features and has covered sufficient ground to be able to reach cogent conclusions. In history it is the panoramic view which is more important than the isolated small item, however fascinating it may be in itself. The scientific historian concerns himself with these trends, these movements, these forces which fashion and affect the life of that section of humanity which he is studying or even of the entire human race. The work of the real historian is now essentially different from the work of the antiquarian and of the archivist, though both of them are essential for his work. The historian has to train himself in this work of the synthesis of the facts discovered by himself or by others. And, he should put history to the task of discovering the causes of the present; to see how and in what ways is the past of the community affecting it and if there is any possibility of changing by human volition and effort the tendencies which are injurious to its well being, growth and development. This view of history is based upon the conception that time s not just spatial where objects can subsist in isolation without necessarily affecting one another. It is rather a medium through which extends the chain of cause and effect; this is what I meant when I spoke, in my last address to this conference, of time being a medium through which is transmitted causal energy generated by every action, the energy which expresses itself in a series of actions and reactions, as every action is in itself the effect of some previous action or actions and in its turn becomes the cause of further action.

Such a view of time as well as history may lead the unwary into the acceptance of the doctrines of necessity and determinism against that of freewill and of the potency of human volition,

but this would be but a partial undestanding of this view of time as well as history, because the human will cannot be detached at any stage from the phenomenon of action. The effects of previous actions are dominant in so far as the normal course of history is concerned, but to a great extent that course can be changed by human volition. Without this belief history would create the worst kind of fatalism, which would be erroneous. It is true that our concepts of what we should do are often fashioned by our environment, yet in the world of today man has become so mobile that he moves from one environment to another and because all human thought has some thing to teach the inquirer, new ideas do come into the lives of communities which could be made to play a conscious role in their development and progress. This is happening before our eyes in all the underdeveloped and backward areas of the world to a remarkable extent, but there is room for improvement in two directions. Firstly there is little critical assessment of the worth of the ideas accepted and often the superficial and glamorous shell is accepted as the true substance; whereas it should have been rejected as irrelevant in favour of the real values which have produced the urge for progress and given that impetus to human effort which creates civilizations and brings about revolutionary changes in the well-being of humanity. The other deficiency is that this traffic of ideas is only from the West to the East, as if the East had produced nothing worth while in the course of the ages. All the religious and philosophic thought, all the values of life and even the moulds of artistic expression evolved in these regions are being rejected one after another, for they are thought to possess no value, not only for the technologically advanced West but for the East as well which gave them birth. In the correction of such imbalance, human volition can play a highly constructive role, because to leave the world subject to the natural reactions of happenings in such vital fields would be suicidal. In short human volition and thought cannot stand aside and let events just take their course, nor can mankind permit itself to be overwhelmed with its past and present misdeeds. The human mind has not

changed a single law of science, yet it has harnessed a good many of them to its use; similarly the nature of time and its quality of transmitting the reactions of events and thus affecting human life cannot be changed, but it can be utilized.

For this purpose it is essential to understand the value and nature of time as a factor in building up cultures and civilizations. That is the reason why Islam attaches such great importance to it; to those of us who believe in the truth of Islam, its insistence upon history and contemplation of the nature of time are, therefore, of special significance. This significance was understood by our poet philosopher Iqbal who refers to it at several places. I will quote just a few lines of his in Nicholson's translation :

"Time is joy and sorrow, festival and fast;
Time is the secret of moonlight and sunlight.
Thou hast extended Time, like space,
And distinguished Yesterday from Tomorrow.
Thou hast fled, like a scent, from thine own garden;
Thou hast made thy prison with thine own hand.
Our time, which has neither beginning nor end,
Blossoms from the flower-bed of our mind.
To know its root quickens the living with new life;
Its being is more splendid than the dawn.
Life is of Time, and Time is of Life."

This identification of time with life itself and with all that life implies, this refusal to divide it into sections of today and tomorrow and yesterday and this insistence upon its continuity should inspire a Muslim people to attach proper importance to the true function of history, which is to see through it the continuity of life and the inevitable relationship between the past and the present, and simple, though it looks in this bald enunciation, it is of fundamental importance for historians and laymen alike, and especially for those who have been entrusted with the affairs and even the destinies of nations.

It is a source of some gratification that at least the leading historians of this country, in spite of many difficulties, are aware

of this function of history, as their plan of *A History of Freedom Movement* shows; but this feeling of satisfaction is marred by the fact that in our leading universities, history does not receive the treatment which it deserves. The senior scholars of history are worried at the paucity of new recruits to their ranks. If the universities are reluctant to fill the chairs unless they find giants in the subject to fill them, where is the justification for not creating and filling intermediate posts of senior lecturers and readers in various branches of the subject, which alone will train the senior scholars of tomorrow? And even more shocking is the lack of a sense of history in some of our selfish politicians and officials who seem to believe in the present to the extent of injuring the future of the country for their petty gain of today, who do not seem to know what was their condition yesterday when the country was not free and do not care to think what will be the condition of their progeny if, through their short-sighted selfishness, they leave a legacy of chaos and slavery behind them. Its historians owe it to the nation to create in it that sense of responsibility for its affairs as well as its future through a sense of history, which alone can make it sensitive to the dangers of permitting irresponsible politicians to play with its destiny.

I would have liked to discuss one or two other problems as well, but I have already taken too much of your time and I do not want to tax your patience any more. I am grateful to you for giving me such an attentive hearing, specially when I have been guilty of standing between you and our distinguished guest, Professor Sir Hamilton Gibb, to whose address all of us have been looking forward so eagerly.

—:o:—

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Dr. Abdul Wahid Halepota, Hyderabad

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am highly conscious of the great honour that you have so kindly done me by asking me to preside over the Section of Islamic History of this Conference. I am fully aware that I do not quite deserve this distinction. My associations with the Islamic History have been, as a matter fact not as a student who has specialized in the subject but as a student of Arabic Literature and as a student of Religion and Islamic Culture. I, therefore, do not think that I shall be able to give you in this brief address anything that could have been expected from an experienced historian who due to his life-long occupation with the subject has arrived at profound results and far reaching conclusions. It is only in the capacity of an ordinary student of Islamic History that I would like to point out to the great historians and specialists in the different fields of Islamic History, certain problems that have occurred to me as most pressing. I request our Historians to focus their attention on these problems and do something about them.

One of the most outstanding needs that we are feeling, is the revision of the *Text Books* on Islamic History that our students have to study nowadays. Most of the basic books on Islamic History recommended in our Universities have been written by Western Orientalists whose historical researches during the last several centuries have followed a particular pattern. This pattern clearly seems to have a characteristic of deliberate conspiracy of silence and of keeping mum about whatever is complimentary and praise-worthy about Islam and Islamic Civilization. In the case of certain authors we find that they even distort the facts. In corroboration of this statement I would like to quote the actual

words of Joseph McCabe who is one of the least biased Orientalists. He says :—

"One of the gravest defects of British and American Literature is the almost Universal reluctance to pay adequate attention to the Arab-Persian Civilization. Even in our distinguished Cambridge History only about hundred pages—and it seems that no British Scholar could be found to write these—are devoted to the vast and splendid civilization of the Arabs and Persians, while many thousands of pages are given to far smaller and much less reputable countries of Christian Europe. Yet during the most degraded period of Christendom (C. 900-1050) the Arab civilization spread from Portugal to the confines of India, and it was in some respects superior to the Greek-Roman. Half of Spain under the Arabs then nourished a population of 30,000,000—while it is only 24,000,000 in the entire country today. They were in a condition of high prosperity and enlightenment. Sicily had twice as large a population that of England then and a wonderful culture, and there were equally advanced civilizations in Egypt, Syria and Persia. There were hundreds of cities with populations of a quarter of a million to a million (when London, Paris and Rome had not 30,000). Libraries of hundreds of thousands of volumes, a general zeal for education far beyond the point at which the Alexandrians had left it. There was an equally voluminous literature of history, philosophy, geography and poetry. There was very little slavery, while nine-tenths of the people of Christian Europe were in the state of squalid serfdom. In toleration, freedom, social justice, cleanliness, beneficence, and general happiness the Arab-ruled countries were leagues ahead ; and the total population of these was many times larger than that of the Christian countries of Europe.

"The reluctance of historians to appreciate this remarkable civilization of the history of Europe protects the *myth* that Christianity was at least in large part responsible for Europe's recovery. They continue to pay compliments to the civilising influence of the Church, allowing only a stimulating contact with the Arabs in the Crusades, and they almost ignore the notable spread of Spanish Arab culture over the south of France before

the First Crusade began and the extension of Sicilian culture to the cities of north Italy."

Such has been the attitude of reluctance and silence or of distortion of historical truth, amongst the most of the Western historians when they have written history of Muslims in the West and in the Middle East. Even in the history of Indo-Pakistan a similar attitude has prevailed of which our reputed historian Dr. Mamood Husain has expressed in his Presidential address at the 2nd All Pakistan History Conference, in these words :—

"Historical research during the last two hundred years followed a certain pattern. This pattern was chosen with a purpose. It fitted well into the scheme of education imposed on us by our foreign masters. The history of Muslim efforts to make this Sub-continent a better place than what they had found it became the chief sufferer. The reason why the attack was directed particularly against this aspect of history is not far to seek. It was Muslims from whom power had been wrested and it was they who, before numbers alone began to rule the world, were the chief aspirants to power. They were not merely to be relegated to an inferior status, politically and economically, their whole past was to be misrepresented and their history distorted. The history of Muslims in India was depicted as if it consisted of nothing but bigotry, intolerance and corruption.

Continuous research and teaching of history on these lines not only produced its baneful effects upon non-Muslim communities, it made even Muslims spectical of their past and, thereore, doubtful of their future."

I must apologise for these lengthy quotations, but it was necessary because I wanted to make it clear that at this moment, we cannot entirely depend on the Western Orientalists for the history books providing us with reliable and trustworthy account of our cultural heritage and civilisation. We have to make our own independent efforts and follow the footprints of earlier Muslim historians, who started their study of history as a religious duty.

In this connection I may point out that history is one of the *Āyāt* or Signs of God which needs to be observed and studied just in the same way as different Āyat or signs that are pointed by the holy Book. Iqbal says:

"Inner experience is only one source of human knowledge. According to the *Quran* there are two other sources of knowledge—Nature and History; and it is in taping these sources of knowledge that the spirit of Islam is seen at its best."

In another place he says:

> "History or in the language of the Quran. 'the days of God' (ایام اللہ), is the third source of human knowledge according to the Quran. It is one of the most essential teachings of the Quran that nations are collectively judged, and suffer for their misdeeds here and now. In order to establish this proposition the Quran constantly cites historical instances, and urges upon the reader to reflect on the past and present experience of mankind."

To the Muslims, therefore, study of history is religious duty which they carried out with great zeal and enthusiasm from early times. It is, therefore, no wonder that we come across not only great biographers like Muhammad Bin Ishaq but distinguished writers of world histories like Tabari, Baladhur, Iban al-Athir, Ibn Miskawaih and a host of biographers, historians and historiographers who can truly be called the fore-runners and founders of modern philosophy of history, historiography and sociology.

For collecting historical data the Quran has commanded not lest than five times in words قل سیروا فی الارض. The purpose of journey has to be with different objectives of historical character. In the Quran there are many references to the past nations and to their archaeological remains with a view that they should be studied and a lesson should be drawn from them and the process of the Universal Law that applies to all nations and mankind should be ascertained.

Similarly for search of knowledge which includes historical knowledge as well, travelling to different parts of the world and from people to people and from place to place has been com-

mended. This command has laid the foundation of one of the specific Islamic institutions namely the institution of looking after the way-farer or Ibn al-Sabil (ابن السبيل). In no other scripture the duty looking after the way-farer and traveller has been so much commended as it is in the Quran. Because it was envisaged that in the pursuance of the command the travelling people will be going from place to place, hence the provision for the welfare of such people has been made. It is, therefore, we come across great geographers and travellers and globe trotters amongst Muslims who set out for this task, taking it as their religious duty.

Ladies and Gentlemen, if we have to follow the teachings of the Quran and imbibe the spirit of its teachings we must also devote our attention to the study of history with the same zeal as the Muslims in preceding ages did. From what I have said it is clear that it is not only the study of history of Muslims that constitutes the Islamic history but as a matter fact all the branches of history even the study of *archaeological remain* like those of ʿAd, Thamud and of all the ancient nations could be considered Islamic from the point of view that it has been commanded by the Quran.

We should make our independent efforts and study history in the most objective way without any bias—national or provincial—just for the sake of truth and produce books which should become *text books* for the students of history in and outside the Universities of Pakistan. In the light of such text books naturally students will get a good safe-guard and guidance, even when they read books written by the Westerners whose points of view have been described above.

Another important point that I want to bring to the notice of the Muslim historians is the need of reviewing and revising the whole history from the point of view of modern principles of historical analysis and historical criticism. As a matter of fact most of the fundamental grounds of judging achievements of a nation and the principles of *rise and fall* of nations and of the growth development and of the process of evolution of human institutions—all can be found in the Quran. Through the application of those principles the historians can very well get a proper

estimate of a nation and ascertain its level and position in the process of civilization.

In this respect I would like to draw the attention of historians of today to the method of approach to Muslim history as propounded by Shah Waliullah of Delhi. In his book Izalat al-Khafa his approach to the history of early Muslims and specially to the period of Khilafat Rashida is most modern and most impressive. He presents Islam as an international revolutionary movement based upon the most universal principles on which mankind has to go on *naturally* in accordance with the needs of its specific nature. This revolutionary movement of the mankind from the advent of the Prophet of Islam, has taken a particular form which, on one hand, has been actualised in the transformation of the political ideals from despotic and autocratic rule to a form of democratic and theocratic state which was attained by obliterating the Kingdoms of Qaiser and Kisra over their vast domains and creating in their place the rule of law of God under the custody of a vicegerent of God. On the other hand Islam brought about marked revolution in the ideals and values and conditions of every aspect of life which could clearly be discerned in the times of the Prophet and of the Four Caliphs and their achievements in the fields of the political ideals, economic and social welfare and ethical, moral and spiritual standards.

For his historical material Waliullah does not draw upon the stereo-typed histories but on the Quran and authentic traditions relating to that period and to people of those times. He deduces historical data and draws conclusions from these sources in the light of universal truths and general principles and evolutionary processes enunciated or pointed out in the Quran. To my mind, ladies and gentlemen, his method has proved most successful. We find that inspite of temporal limitations Islam appears to be a universal and international dynamic movement which progressively maintains its process from one phase to another.

Maulana Ubaid Allah Sindhi has also given an analysis of history of this period as well as of the periods of the Umayyids and of later people. His approach is worth consideration, which approach to me seems to be just an extension and projection of

Shah Walliullah's method applied from the early Caliphate period to the periods of Umayyid times, to the period of Abbasids and to the later periods when the Islamic rule came to India and other non-Arab nations. I have no time to expound Maulana's historical analysis of the rise and fall of different nations that came under the fold of Islam. For a clear idea of what he says you may refer to Musa Jar Allah's book on the *Awa'il al-Suwar*, to Muhammad Sarwar's book Maulana *Ubaid Allah Sindhi Aur Unke Afkar* and to Maulana's own work *al-Tamhid.*

In order to give a brief example of what he says I may mention that in the Quran there are indications that for an international programme like that of the Quran at least a century is required which consists of 1,000 months (الف شہر) if two months for rest and inactive life are deducted from each year. Maulana says that it is the historical fact that in such thousand months, Islam got to the position when it became International religion and polity bringing in its domain, the vast countries from the Atlantic Ocean to India—an empire which never had come under one unified system in the past. To this thousand months a reference is made in (انا انزلناہ) and other Suras. Similarly in Surahs *Hamim* there is a reference to the activities and ideals which were realised in the first forty-eight years, which is about the period when the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali had started. The *Abjad* calculations of *Hamim* is 48. Forty-eight years may be considered an approximate period from the time of the advent (*Bi'that*) of the Holy Prophet for the attainment of ideals and programme indicated in the Surahs. There are similar indications in the Surah, Nun Wal-Qalam, the numerical value of Nun is 50 which is the year which coincides with the year in which Hazrat Ali had in a way relinquished his Caliphate authority by accepting arbitration. This comes when 13 years of the Meccan period are added to the period up to the period of Hazrat Ali's Caliphate before the arbitration, which is an outstanding period of Rashidin's Caliphate in which the programme of the Surah was fully actualised. On similar lines Maulana has worked out important periods of Islamic civilization and shown that there is a co-relation between time and the laws of progress and civilization of nations given in the respective Surahs in the Quran.

Many of you may not agree with the arbitrary deductions of Huruf Muqatta'at but in any case study of history in the light of Quranic principles is indeed laudable.

Islam is an international system and international movement to which mankind has to go on from the time of the advent of the Holy Prophet of Islam. Some nations may be more advancing in this direction than other nations, but all of them have to go on these lines if they have to survive. Having this point of view as a basis, Maulana Ubaid Allah has given analysis of the Umayyid national Arab rule which he has compared with certain modern trends of national organizations taking charge and custody of international system and international ideals. This point of view has been fully illucidated and explained in the book Afkar Maulana Ubaid Allah Sindhi written by Muhammad Sarwar.

If the Umayyad period is reviewed from the points of view of Maulana Ubaid Allah, then it seems that the movement of Islam was going ahead through different phases and states and the position of Umayyads does not become after all so bad as it is generally made out to be.

In the same way his views about Akbar and Akbar's policy are more in keeping with Islam as an international movement and it is for the historians to judge and make a proper estimate of his outlook.

In the end I would like to impress on the historians of Islam the need of writing books like the work of Draper on Intellectual Development of Europe, not only tracing intellectual and spiritual and cultural developments of Europe but also of other western as well as Eastern countries. It is high time that history of renaissance of Europe should be re-written in which the share of Islamic influence should be fully and comprehensively identified and brought out. In the same way the similar work should be done on different periods of history and it should be made clear what was there before the advent of Islam and what came about there after the Prophet of Islam came. The study should not be restricted only to the political history of people, their wars, kings and rulers, but it should cover up all the fields of human life—

their beliefs, their values, their ideals, their culture and their civilization. And whatever is there to be found after the advent of the Prophet of Islam and was not there before, it should be considered Islamic contribution provided it is in agreement with the spirit and teachings of the Quran. It matters not by what titles and denominations and names different nations call themselves, whether they call themselves Christians or Hindus or Sikhs, if they have adopted teachings, which have been stressed and emphasized in the Quran for the first time in the human history they should be considered to have been following the teachings of the Quran in the proportion and to the extent they are following them.

It is the duty of historians to sift out the material and assign things to their origin and proper sources and if it is done it will relieve great confusion which has caused great damage to the understanding of values in proper perspective and the comprehension of the truth as it should be understood.

Ladies and gentlemen I have taken a lot of your time and I crave for your forgiveness for my encroaching up on your precious time and I thank you very much for giving me a patient hearing. It the end I thank you again for the honour that has been given to me.

—:o:—

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

By

Mr. Abdul Ali Khan.

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am, indeed, grateful to the Historical Society for bestowing on me the honour of presiding over the Hind-Pakistan Section of the 8th All Pakistan History Conference. I consider it a privilege to place before you the views of a teacher who is still and will continue to be a student of the subject. It is, of course, not necessary to agree with the views and opinions that I am about to express, but, I will beg of you to give them your consideration and thought. Because, as was said by the Emperor Napoleon, "History is a philosophy think and reflect on it", while writing to his young son the King of Rome.

History has been given many definitions. At one place an eminent Historian defines it as, "The process by which we try and determine what people are thinking about during the times under our consideration". The New International Dictionary defines history as: "A narrative of events connected with a real or imaginary object, person, or career . . . a systematic written account of events, particularly of those affecting a nation, institution, science, or art, and usually connected with a philosophical explanation of their causes . . . The branch of knowledge that records and explains past events as steps in human progress". In the light of this definition it appears at once that history is one of the most highly cultural and useful studies in the curriculum.

In our educational institutions and especially at the College and University level I consider the teaching of history and its proper interpretation not only necessary but as most important. But I

consider it equally important that the teaching and interpretation must be such so that it helps the student to develop his power of thinking and reflecting. The correct teaching and interpretation should invariably do this and save the student from developing an attitude of facts-learning and consequently developing a very dismal and unimpressive mind and personality. The proper approach to history should always develop a keen and reflective mind and an interesting personality.

I remember touching the study of History in my paper read before the Ist All Pakistan History Conference at Karachi and I also remember how one of my audience very impatiently requested the President that I should concentrate my attention on my paper, which was on Warren Hastings, rather than preach a sermon to them. If I am giving my audience the same impression I beg to be excused, but I feel very strongly about the proper teaching and correct interpretation of History. I feel if our approach is correct, we will not only contribute towards the subject of History but we shall also help in the building of our country and nation.

Let me try and explain my position a little further. Why do we read and teach History ? In my opinion it is because a knowledge of History interprets and illumines the whole of human life. We know the state of affairs which exists in the world at the present day has not always existed. We know that the institutions, the ideas, the States of today have not been handed down to us unchanged from time, immemorial ; and the intelligent mind must from time to time be lead to ask how the present state of affairs grew into being and what form the development of human organisation has taken. Why have the people been drawn into conflict with other peoples; and how the present system of common action and mutual protection grew up. We must investigate about the other peoples of the world and their institutions in which our lot is cast.

Let us take an example of the beautiful and rugged mountains of the Khyber. From times immemorial these mountains have had their own history and the people inhabiting them their own institutions and traditions, their own approach to life, their

problems, their weakness and their strength, their fears and sorrows, their defeats and their victories.

Let us also see how many historians from amongst ourselves, have touched on the history of these mountains and the people living in them. The impression that we have been given, or at least I have been given, from the studies of our own people is that of their ferociousness, their love for money, their ruthlessness and their nondependibility. This in my opinion is the wrong approach and it is the duty and responsibility of a Historian to give us an unbiased and unprejudiced history of these people. I will, therefore, ladies and gentlemen, with your permission, draw your attention to this problem.

This now brings me to the important problem of research. I know that research has been conducted by the Pakistan Historical Society and interesting publications have been brought out such as :—

1. Tarikh-e-Hindo-Pakistan.
2. History of the Freedom Movement—Vol.I.
3. Translation of some Persian manuscripts.

But I feel that this has not been enough and therefore more research is necessary. Historians, other than Muslims, while writing their histories about various aspects of Muslims Rule in India, have given the subject a certain bias and one is often confronted with considerable prejudice. In my opinion it is necessary that we carefully examine the views of non-Muslim Historians and without any bias or prejudice produce suitable counter-arguments. I will be the last person to suggest that we suggest that we justify actions and decisions of Muslims because they were Muslims but we shall consider it our responsibility to defend their actions and decisions wherever justified and condemn them where necessary. It is therefore important that research into our History must be organised on highly scientific lines and it should not be made the responsibility of one organisation or body but should be conducted by all Universities and sister Institutions. I would therefore suggest that research Institutions

be started by all Universities and that the Universities should work in close co-ordination with the Regional Directorates of Archives. I would go further and suggest that Government Departments and especially the Political Agencies may organise small research Institutions in co-ordination with the Universities and the Regional Directorates of Archives. The results of this research may be published quarterly, half yearly or yearly either by Institutions conducting the research or a Central organisation. Any expenditure involved will be justified because the money will give us in return correct informations on the basis of which we can re-write the History of country and re-writing, I think, is most essential.

The studying of second hand History and in some cases third hand History, is to say the least, undesirable. I also consider it a great shame that we have still to depend, especially, at the post graduate level, on Historians other than Muslim Historians. I must not be mis-understood. It is important that we study different points of view, but we should not be in a hopeless position as to be always depending on that point of view alone. What I am suggesting is that it is high time that we had our point of view in black and white so that the coming generation can examine all the points of views and then sit in judgement over the actions of their fore-fathers and consequently commend or condemn them.

My own opinion is that Historians can contribute immensely towards every aspect of the development of a nation and its institutions and find it an honourable place in the comity of nations. What is badly needed is hard work and devotion to duty—whatever its nature—and I am sure you have both. I am certain that you will display your abilities in your delebrations.

I wish you all good luck and shall pray to GOD for your success. Thank you.

—:o:—

EMBASSY
OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY
THE AMBASSADOR

Karachi, 18th February, 1958

DEAR SIR,

It gives me great pleasure to send my best wishes to the 8th session of the Pakistan History Conference which will be held under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society at Peshawar from 22nd to 24th February, 1958. The Pakistan Historical Society, with whom the Embassy has always maintained very cordial relations, has contributed a great deal to the dissemination of knowledge of the history of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent in particular and of the Muslim world in general. Its publications have thrown an abundance of light on Muslim achievemens in the Middle East and, in particulăr, in the Subcontinent. Through the efforts of the Pakistan Historical Society many a distortion of historical facts has been corrected and many an historical event has been re-examined and re-stated in the light of modern research.

The history of a nation according to my opinion is the source from which present and future generations should draw their inspirations and guidance. A proper understanding of the historical development of one's nation not only helps to strengthen the bonds which bind the individual to his fellow nationals but also takes us a long way towards the establishment of a progressive social order.

History is a great teacher. By its study and contemplation it reveals to us many a truth, the knowledge of which will be a source of blessings not only to ourselves but to mankind as a whole.

I am confident that the deliberations of the forth-coming session of the Pakistan History Conference will prove to be another milestone on the road to the discovery of these truths.

Your faithfully,
(H. C. PODEYN).

To The President
of the Pakistan History Conference,
Peshawar.

Islamic History Section

Paper on "Character of the Umayyad Caliphate"

By

Dr. A. H. Siddiqi, Karachi

While considering the character of the Caliphate under the Umayyads, we have got to take into consideration the following facts :—

(a) No contemporary history of the Umayyad Dynasty written by the historians during their Caliphate is in existence.

(b) Their history was written after the end of their Dynasty during the regime of the Abbasid Caliphs, who were their inveterate enemies, by historians who were naturally in favour of the Abbasid Caliphate and opposed to the Umayyad Caliphate. Hence the prejudice against the Dynasty.

(c) The tragedy of "Karbala" alienated the sympathies of the Ulama from the Dynasty, who guided public opinion. Partly due to this tragedy and partly due to the partial treatment meted out to the new converts by the Umayyad Caliphate, the sympathies of all sections of the Muslim community had been alienated; and the community as a whole began to regard the Umayyad Dynasty as a Godless one. This propaganda ultimately resulted in the destruction of the Umayyad Caliphate in 750 A.D (132 A.H.) at the hands of the Abbasids.

(d) One more disadvantage with which the Umayyad Caliphs suffered was that they were the immediate

successors to the ideal ideological State established by the Companions of the Holy Prophet. As the latter had taken lessons at the feet of the Prophet, they were naturally more devoted to the cause of Islam than to their own personal interests. They were people of irreproachable character and were selflessly devoted to the cause of Islam. The Umayyads, being their immediate successors, were judged by the very high standard set up by those worthy Companions of the Holy Prophet; and such standards obviously worked against an objective and dispassionate assessment of their achievements and failures.

2. However, with the advent of the Umayyad Caliphate some of the chief characteristics of the Orthodox Caliphate disappeared.

Elective Element of the Caliphate:

3. The elective aspect of the Caliphate disappeared altogether and the Caliphs began to nominate a successor on the basis of dynastic succession. The Caliphate was confined to the house of Banu-Umayya. However, people were required to take oath of allegiance to the successor-designate during the life-time of the reigning Caliph; and the oath of allegiance had to be renewed at the time of the accession of the new Caliph. The assumption of office was still considered a contractual affair between the Umayyad Caliph and the people at large, who could depose the Caliph if the latter violated the laws of Sharia flagrantly. The deposition of the Caliph al-Walid II and the accession of Yazid III is sufficient to prove this contention. The convention that a minor should not be nominated for the Caliphate remained in force; and as such, even the c aims of the son of the reigning Caliph were ignored and some senior member of the Umayyad Dynasty, more often the brother of the reigning Caliph, was nominated for succession in the first instance, and the

junior son in the second instance. This system of nominating two successors in succession led to disastrous results in future. Let us in the light of historical criticism examine whether this nomination system could be avoided in the altered circumstances or a better alternative could be substituted for it. It is an established fact of history that after the murder of Hazrat Osman, the unity and solidarity of the Muslim community had broken down; and in consequence thereof, the Caliphate had lost its universal character. In such circumstances, it was not possible to extend the choice of the Caliph to the entire tribe of Quraish. The Caliph had to be appointed from either of the two most important branches of the tribe of Quraish *i.e.* the Banu-Ummaya or Banu-Hashim. As the power now lay in the hands of the Umayyads, it was but natural that the choice of the Caliph should have been confined to this dynasty until the political power was wrested from their hands. But, in any case, the hereditary succession which is bound to bring about degeneration among the successors should have been avoided and the best person available from among the Umayyad dynasty should have been elected by the Majlis-i-Shura headed by the Caliph. This system based on dynastic claims should have worked as well as the modern Democratic Governments are being run on political party lines at present.

Shura :

Under the altered circumstances due to the abovementioned causes, the nature of Shura had also to undergo a substantial change under the Umayyad Caliphate. In fact after the murder of Hazrat Osman, it was not possible even for Hazrat Ali to compose his Shura on the basis adopted by the first two Caliphs and thus maintain its universal character. The worthy Companions like Talha and Zubair who should have been the prominent members of Hazrat Ali's Majlis-i-Shura were opposed to his very Caliphate. In such circumstances, there was no question for their inclusion in the Majlis-i-Shura. As all the prominent Umayyads headed by Muawiya were against the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali the Shura even during the Caliphate of Hazrat Ali had

to be confined to Hashmites and to those in whom Hazrat Ali could place his confidence. Muawiya for the same reason could not even be allowed to function as Governor of Syria.

In the same way, it was not possible for Muawiya and his successors to include the members of the Hashmite family or of any group which was in opposition, in their Majlis-i-Shura. This is quite in consonance with the practice of modern democratic party governments. Unfortunately since the tragedy of Karbala, even the sympathies of Ulema had been alienated. And therefore the Umayyad Caliphs could not avail themselves of these leaders and learned scholars of the Muslim community. Instead, their Caliphal Council was attended by members of the Caliph's family, his important officers and courtiers. This body did not reflect the legal wisdom of the Muslim community, nor did it stand for the entire people. Umar II formed a regular Council of the leading Doctors at al-Madinah when he became the Viceroy of al-Hijaz. This body did represent the legal wisdom of the Muslim community. He again endeavoured to establish a regular Council of the Shura representing the legal wisdom of the entire Muslim community at the time of his accession as a Caliph at Damascus. However, during his short reign of two and a half years he could not realise this objective as he could neither bring together all the Ulema from the various Islamic countries to Damascus nor could he transfer his Capital from Damascus to Madinah.

After the death of Umar II, no more effort was made by any of the Umayyad Caliphs to establish the Council of Shura purely on merits and the character of the members. Once more under the later Umayyads the Central Council became a Royal Council consisting of members of the royal family and the close supporters of the Caliph.

Privy Purse :

The Pious Caliphs had contended themselves with their annuities and did not misuse the Baytul-Mal money. Even their

own share within the one-fifth of the booty which fell under their jurisdiction was spent on public needs. But with the advent of the Umayyads to power the Caliphs began to utilise more money from the Baytul-Mal for their personal needs and for the maintenance of their Courts. Muawiyah inherited much wealth from his father. He had his own stipend of 2,000 dirhams which was allowed to those who accepted Islam on the conquest of Makkah. Under the Caliphate of Hazrat Osman, Muawiyah got himself assigned the vast properties left by the Patricians of Syria and also the lands confiscated passed under the control of Muawiyah. Thus Muawiyah had a big estate at his disposal and gave portions of them to his supporters. Most of the estates possessed by Muawiyah passed into the hands of Abdul Malik who had a very large estate and huge funds at his disposal. His son, Hisham, was the greatest landlord in the whole of the Empire. According to the statement of the Caliph, Umar Ibn Abdul-Aziz, the descendants of Marwan held two-thirds of the wealth of the Caliphate. Except Umar Ibn Abdul-Aziz who appropriated for himself only one dirham a day which was also sent to the public kitchen where he took his meals with the poor and the helpless, other Umayyads were not so scrupulous as to confine themselves to their annuities.

Court :

It was quite natural that with full control over the resources of the Caliphate, a Court should have sprung up during the Umayyad Caliphate. After the murderous attacks on the last three Pious Caliphs and after an attempt on his own life, Muawiya had to adopt measures for the protection of his own person. It was with this object in view that he instituted a guard ; and even in the mosque, he constructed a small portion known as Hujra (room) to protect himself from intending assassins. However, even with the institution of a guard, Muawia was not in-accessible to the people who could fully exchange even hot words with him in public. But with the vast expanding Empire and the consequent growth of unexpected wealth and coming into close contact with the Persian, and Roman cultures where kingship

with all its attendant evils was in existence, it was but natural that a veritable Royal court should have developed at Damascus under the wordly Umayyads. It was Muawiya who made a beginning even in this behalf by erecting a throne for himself and sitting on it like a king. His successors also emulated his example. It was only the saintly Umar II who did a good deal to eliminate the evils that had entered the sacred Institution. He returned all his wealth and that of his wife to the State Treasury, and led a simple life and was content with the meals served in the State kitchen for the poor and the helpless. The courtiers, songsters, poets, musicians and others were turned out of the Court. He sat on the floor and tried to get round him as many scholars and divines as possible to advise him. However after Umar II, the grand Court of Umayyads was revived.

Changes in the Pension List :

The Umayyad Caliphs are also accused of affecting certain alternations in the pension list fixed by Hazrat Omar in his Diwan. Under the changed circumstances, it was but natural that the form in which Hazrat Omar had left it should have undergone certain changes at the hands of the Umayyad Caliphs. In the circumstances in which Muawiya inducted himself into power, he had to face continuous opposition both at the hands of the Alids as well as the Kharajites ; and as such he and his successors must have struck off the names of those persons from the pension list who were in constant rebellion against his regime.

The second and the chief cause for medling with the regular annuities was that the recipients began to regard the pension as a subsistence allowance rather than as a salary given for military service. In fact during the Caliphate of Umar I every one got the pension as a subsistence allowance, but there was not a single person who could have dared to refuse rendering military service to the State. But after the great Umar and with the lapse of time, the people while accepting the pension as a subsistence allowance, refused openly to render military service. Consequent-

ly Hajjaj had to compel them to go on war. In such circumstances, the Umayyad Caliphs were perfectly justified in striking off the names of all such defaulters. It was the Caliph Hisham who put a stop to the abuse of granting pension as a benefice. He did not make any exception whatsoever in this behalf.

However, with the advent of the Umayyads Caliphate, the worst change was effected in the social, economic and political conditions of the new converts known as Mawali. During the vast conquests, millions of people embraced Islam ; and as such could not attach themselves to Arab families. Those Mawalis who were affiliated to some Arab families could assert their rights through their affiliated families. But for those Mawalis who were not affiliated to any Arab family, it was difficult in the absence of any constitutional machinery, to get their rights asserted: Being Muslims they were required to pay the Jizah and the Kharaj. There was some justification for charging kharaj from those Muslims who bought the land from the non-Muslims against the Ordinance of Hazrat Omar and thus trying to convert the kharaj land into Ushr land ; but there was no justification for charging jazia from the new converts. Even when the latter fought in the wars of Islam, they received no stipends. It were those Mawalis who were not given equal treatment along with other Muslims and had to suffer from all kinds of social, economic and political disabilities. To make matters worse, Hajjaj forbade their migration into the towns where they could enlist themselves into the pension list of the Government. However those harsh measures were of a short duration as they continued to be in force only during the Governorship of Hajjaj. Umar II realizing the injustice done to the Mawalis cancelled these unjust orders. He solved the question of the payment of Kharaj equitably and forbade the payment of jazia by the Mawalis ; and granted them all those rights and privileges which were being enjoyed by other Muslims. But the reforms introduced by Umar II were of a short duration and his successors did not follow any definite policy. Nor was it possible during the later troubled period of Umayyad regime to

lay down any fixed rule in this behalf. Consequently the Mawalis continued to suffer, more or less from all kinds of disabilities, and in consequence thereof rose in revolt along with the Abbasids and contributed, in no small measure, to the down-fall of the Umayyads Dynasty.

In spite of all these defects, it is not, however, true that under the Umayyads, the Caliphate of the Holy Prophet was converted into a *de-facto* kingship as the Umayyads could not and would not call themselves sovereigns in the real sense of the modern term. Even the right of further legislation which was enjoyed by the Pious Caliphs in council was taken away from them and was now exercised by the Ulema. As such, the Umayyads Caliphs were not above the law and were subject to the laws of Shariat in the same way as an ordinary man in the street. The Caliph considered himself responsible for dispensation of justice in the State. The Umayyad Caliphs set apart a particular day in a week for hearing appeals and the inspection of grievances. According to Ibnul-Athir, Abdul-Malik was the first Caliph to devote a special day for hearing cases of al-mazalim. Umar II followed the precedence set up by his uncle with great zeal.

The Caliphs appointed qualified Qadis well-versed in Islamic law and jurisprudence throughout the Empire for the dispensation of justice. Although the Qadis were neither so qualified nor so exemplary in character as was the case during the Pious Caliphate yet the best persons available were appointed by the Umayyad Caliphs. In the absence of any codification of Islamic law, the Qadis were afforded wide powers of interpretation. However, sometimes they referred the doubtful cases to the Mufti for interpretation. On the whole they dispensed with justice equitably so far as the dispute between the ordinary citizens was concerned. They followed, more or less, the same procedure that was in vogue during the Pious Caliphate.

The religious organisation under the Umayyads remained almost the same as under the Pious Caliphs. Religious dogmas still remained elastic ; and if some people were executed for their

views, they were done so because their views were dangerous to the dynastic interests of the Umayyads, and not because they held religious views different from the common ones.

The mosque continued to play the same important role as during the previous regime in the development of the ideals of Islamic State *viz.* equality, liberty, fraternity, social justice, sense of discipline and the inculcation of the spirit of obedience to the ruler. The Caliph was still regarded the appointed leader of the Salat and the Khatib of the Muslim community. The installation and the deposition of the Caliph still took place in the mosque ; and the Caliph as usual delivered his inaugural address in the mosque at the time of his accession. The bait was also taken by all the adult Muslims in the mosque at the hands of the Caliph or at the hands of his representative throughout the Empire. In the provinces, the Governor stood in the same relation to the mosque as the Caliph in the Capital. He was appointed 'over salat and sword' and had 'Province and Minber' under him al walayat wal khutba. Speaking from the minber was a right which the Caliph had delegated to him, and it was done in the name of the Caliph.

Like the Umayyad Caliph, his Governor also made his formal entry into office by ascending the Minber and delivering a Khutba. After glorifying God and the Prophet, he announced his appointment and read the letter of appointment giving out the conditions of his service. The significance of the mosque could be gauged by the fact that if a Governor could not preserve his authority with the Khutba, was removed from his post. In short, the mosque during the Umayyad period continued to fulfil almost all these functions which were performed during the regime of the Pious Caliphs. In addition, with the vast expanding Empire of the Umayyads, new mosques were built every where and the old ones enlarged and beautified.

The other important institution of Islam namely Zakat continued to function exactly in the same way as during the Pious Caliphate. The collection of Zakat remained a State duty

and all the Zakat collected used to be set apart in the Baitul Mal; and spent on those items which are specifically mentioned in the Quran.

As regards other religious functions, the Umayyad rulers more or less performed them satisfactorily. Every year the Caliph appointed a person to lead the Hajj ceremonies as the previous Caliphs had done. The other most important duty of waging war against the infidels and inviting the non-Muslim people to embrace Islam was as faithfully and zealously performed by the Umayyads as done by the Pious Caliphs before. Every thing possible was done to promote the cause of Islam; and through preaching, the Umayyad Caliphs spread the light of Islam throughout their vast Dominion.

The spirit of toleration shown to the members of other faiths was in accordance with the famous verse of the Quran "No compulsion in matters of faith". The Umayyad rulers regarded the Zimmis as their own responsibility; and guaranteed them full liberty of conscience, protection of their property, life and honour and freedom of religious belief. Besides, they provided full scope for the growth of their culture and traditions and the administration of their civil affairs in accordance with their own religious laws. In lieu of a small tax named jazia, the non-Muslims continued to enjoy the exemption from rendering compulsory military service to the State. The non-Muslims continued to have the possession of all the conquered land with permanent and inalienable rights as was the case during the previous regime. All avenues of State service leaving those which involved the performance of religious functions remained open to non-Muslims during the Umayyad Caliphate.

Let us, in the end, examine whether the Umayyad Caliphate fulfilled the objectives of an Islamic State. The Chief objective of an Islamic State in accordance with a verse in the Quran is as follows:—

"These people if established in authority will establish prayers and pay Zakat; and enjoin good upon people and forbid

them from committing wrong. During the whole period of the Umayyad Caliphate, these objectives were more or less fully carried out. By inviting people to embrace Islam, the Umayyads came into conflict with evil forces all around them and by overcoming them, the Umayyads emancipated the conquered races from mental, economic and political bondage. It is an established fact of history that the Umayyad rule proved beneficial to the interests of the subject races and the conquered people. Whatever their short comings at home, their rule compares favourably with contemporary rulers of the world.

—:o—

The Discovery of a Lost Literature (Fātimid)

By

Dr. Abbas Hamdani, Karachi.

When we want to know something of the Muslim civilization at its height, we usually look to the literature of the early ‘Abbāsid period, which Mez calls Muslim renaissance. But this literature gives us only a one-sided picture of the Muslim civilization of these times. An equally great literature was created by a contemporary caliphate, that of the Fāṭimids and by the Ismā‘īlī movement throughout the length and breadth of the Islāmic Empire. Due to causes which we shall describe presently, this literature was hidden from the rest of the world. It had its own long period of *Satr* (concealment) and is only lately acknowledged and studied by the world of learning. The opening up of this new study has resulted in the reconstruction of the whole history of Muslim civilization and as such has made the story of the discovery of Isma‘īlī Literature so fascinating and romantic.

Historical Background

Let us first of all briefly note the historical context of this literature. Just as Islām emerged from the conditions of the Pre-Islāmic Society, and Shī‘ism developed from Islām ; so did Ismā‘īlism originate as an offshoot of Shī‘ism. The ‘Alid legitimist Arab movement, after Karbala had transformed itself into a Shī‘a organization of the rising non-Arab Muslim Mawālī class, clamouring for their rights against the Umayyad Caliphate. The Shī‘a had helped in the ‘Abbāsid take-over, but had gone into opposition in the ‘Abbāsid period. The Ithnā ‘Asharī Shī‘a had adopted a liberal policy towards the ‘Abbāsid Caliphate, but the Isma‘īlī Shī‘a had gathered the dynamic tradition of earlier Arab Muslim dissident movements like those of Mukhtār, Zayd

and Nafs az-Zakīya and non-Arab movements like those of Mazdak, Babak and the Zanj. Under the leadership of their Imām Muḥammad b. Isma'īl b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣadiq and their dā'īs like Ab'ul-Khaṭṭab and 'Abd Allah b. Maymūn al-Qaddāḥ the Isma'īlīs began preparing for the overthrow of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate and the establishment of a Shī'ī Caliphate. Their second objective was achieved in 296 A.H. when in North Africa the Faṭimid Caliphate was established under Imām Mahdī, but on their failure to overthrow the 'Abbāsids, the Qarmaṭian faction of the Ismā'īlīs separated from the main body.

Cairo became the headquarters of the new Faṭimid Shī'ī Isma'ilī Empire and culture which produced such a wealth of literature that it equalled in its contribution to human knowledge the literature produced at Baghdād and the 'Abbāsid Empire and it also gave an impetus to the Umayyads of Spain to establish another rival Caliphate and enter the field of literary competition. Only in its totality can we talk of the Muslim literature and culture of those times, yet due to an unfortunate fact, the Ismā'īlī literature was for centuries omitted from the general reckoning.

In the time of the Sixth Faṭimid Caliph al-Ḥākim, a sect of the Ismā'īlīs called the Druzes separated and developed its own history and literature in the mountains of the Lebanon, and it even exists to the present day.

Just after the eighth Fāṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir bi'llah, the question of succession divided the Ismā'īlīs into two main groups. One supporting the younger son of Imām Mustanṣir, named Musta'lī was called the Musta'lian Ṭayyibī section, and the local converts in our country to this madhhab are called the Bohras. The other group led by Ḥasan b. Ṣabbāḥof Alamūt supporting the elder son of Imām Mustanṣir named Nizār, was called the Nizarī Section, and the local converts in our country to this madhhab are called the Khojas.

In the time of Imām Mustanṣir, the impending catastrophe of a vast split and struggle among the Ismā'īlīs was looming large

on the horizons of the Faṭimid existence; and the cultural achievements of the Faṭimids deposited in the Great Faṭimid literature were on the point of internal explosion, unless they could be saved.

A device for the rescue of this literature was found in the efforts of two personalities, Sayyidnā Mu'ayyad fi'd-Dīn ash-Shīrazī, the great Dā'ī of the Fāṭimid Caliph Mustanṣir and Dā'ī Lamak, the representative of the Ṣulayḥids of Yaman. Both of them conferred in Cairo between 454 and 459 A.H., and among many other things, decided to transfer the Faṭimid literature from Egypt to Yaman.[1]

Yaman at that time was ruled by a strong and secure dynasty, the Ṣulayḥids who were Ismā'īlīs and therefore pro-Fāṭimid and in a position to withstand any attack from outside. Even after the fall of the Fāṭīmids in Egypt at the hands of Saladin this literature was preserved, carefully studied and considerably added to by the Yamanī Da'wa. When the Zaydīs overpowered the Ismā'īlīs in Yaman at the end of the 16th century, the headquarters of the Ismā'īlī Da'wa shifted to Gujrāt in India, where the literature was also transferred.[2] In the study circles of the Ismā'īlī Shaykhs in Gujrāt, this literature was studied, copied and irubibed with a remarkable religious devotion by the initiated sectaries who refused to reveal it to any outsider—not even to their fellow-Ismā'īlīs, the Nizārīs. Because the channel of transfer of this literature was through Yaman, the Nīzārīs unfortunately did not receive any of this literature, and whatever they had in their great library of Alamūt was destroyed completely by the first onrush of the Mongol invasion over the Islāmic Empire. They developed much later a very different literature

1 Dā'ī Idrīs 'Inād a'—Dīn in his *'ilyūa al-Akhbār* (Ms.), VII, H. 102—104 on the authority of Dā'ī Ḥatim b' Ibrāhīm at H. midī cd. 596/1199). Cf. Ḥusayn Hamdanī *aṣ—ṣulayḥūn*, Cairo, 1955.

2 Khawj b Mālik (d 1002 H) : *Majū 'ar-Rasā'il ;* Adam ṣafi a-Din (d.1031/1621) : *Risāla fī Kayfiyat ibtidā' ad-Ba'wat at Hādiya fi Jazīrat at Hind* and *Fuṣūl* appended to the *Disālat at Tarjumat as-Zāhiva* by Ibrāhim Soyfī (d. 1236 H.). Also see *Mir'at-i-Aḥmadi* by 'Alī Muhammad Khān (trans. Nawāb & Seddon-Suppl.) p 108

like the *Gnāns.* However modern research has got the early Ismā'ilī literature recognised as a common cultural heritage by the Nizārīs and the Musta'lians who have discovered a kind of new affinity and bond.

This in short is the story of how the "Fāṭimid-Ismā'īlī literature was lost to the outside world and stored as a hidden treasure" in the libraries of Gujrāt. The story of the Western Scientific exploration and the discovery and resurrection of this literature will be told presently.

The Literature

At this point a brief encounter with the Ismā'ilī literature itself is necessary. A detailed enumeration of this literature can be found in such works as Ivanow's "Guide to Ismā'īlī literature" or in Ḥusayn Hamdānīs. "Some Unknown Ismā'īlī authors and their works" or in the recent work of Kāmil Ḥusayn "Fī Adab Miṣr al Fāṭimīyya" or in similar bio-bibliographical articles and studies.

Only a few characteristics can be mentioned here. The first and foremost feature which distinguishes the Ismā'īlī from the rest of the Islāmic literature is that it is mainly the work of the dā'īs-ie of the religio-political missionaries and administrators belonging to an official hierarchy—in other words a class of Commissars. It is the work of those people who took an active part in the politics of those times and who were interested in changing the existing social order to an order in which their philosophical, religious and political ideas expressed in their books could be translated in practice. As a natural consequence to this, we find that their works betray a kind of partisanship, an ideological pride, an unusual interpretation of history and a cold indifference to the history and ideas of the non-Ismā'īlīs. Only when the latter are to be criticised or refuted that they figure in Ismā'īlī literature, not otherwise.

The early writers like Rāzī, Nasafī, Sijistānī and the Ikhwān as-Ṣafā wrote on philosophical doctrine and their literature has

been classified by the Ismā'īlīs as the *Haqā'iq literature.* With the establishment of the Fāṭimid Caliphate there was found a necessity of toning down and putting an end to the Haqā'īq, and concentrating on the interpretation of the existing doctrine for the benefit of the state. So we find the *Tā'wīl literature* of Dā'ī Ja'far and the later Yamanī writers. By the way, the Qarmaṭian faction produced a few tracts but it remained more of a political than a literary movement.

The Haqā'iq and the Tā'wīl were the two bāṭinī or esoteric schools. The Fāṭimid writers like Qāḍi'n-Nu'mān now developed a *Zāhiri (or exoteric)* school of literature, dealing mainly with law and history. This was directed more towards the consolidation of the Fāṭimid administration than strengthening the Ismā'īlī Da'wa.

In Imām Ḥakim's time, the great Da'ī Kirmānī led a *Codification-school,* which aimed at collecting and harmonizing the Ismā'īlī doctrine and tradition ; and the Druze dissident movement produced a *Druze school* of Ismā'īlī literature.

The *pro-Fāṭimid Sunni writers* like Ibn Zūlāq, Musabbiḥī, Qudā'ī, Ibn-Ḥawqal and others were noted for their sympathy, accuracy and freedom from dogmatism, giving a fair and unbiassed account of what they wrote about.

In Imām Mustaṣir's time Nāṣir-i-Khusraw led a Persian popular school called the *Badakhshānī school,* and was later followed by the Nizārīs in Alamūt and post-Alamūt periods.

Contemporaneously, Dā'ī Mu'ayyad fi'd-Dīn initiated a *Majālis—school, i.e.* the collection of Ismā'īlī popular lectures held at different séances of learning into big compendiums, and passed the Majālis tradition on to Yaman.

We need not go into the details of all the later schools like the *Yamanī Muīṣa'lian school,* the *Alamūtā Nizārī school,* the ***Post-Alamūt School,*** the *Bohra school,* containing the Dāwoodī and Sulaymānī literatures and finally the *Satpanth school* of the Khojas. It need only be mentioned that the Ismā'īlī literature like the

īlī movement took various changing forms in the context of the fast-changing time and place of the Ismā'īlī history and life. This literature provides the other side of the picture, and without it the panorama of Muslim Civilization remains incomplete and discontinuous.

The Discovery

Such was, then, the literature of the Ism'āilīs. As noted before, this literature was buried in the libraries of India and Yaman and jealously guarded in strict secrecy by the sectaries for centuries. It was read and copied in the study-circles conducted by the Ismā'īlī shaykhs. The ẓāhirī books dealing with history, poetry or allegorical stories were first taught to the students. Next came the *fiqh* (law) books. These were also of a ẓāhirī nature. Ismā'īlī students who showed a capacity to imbibe the principles of the sect and keep them secret from the general mass of the people were then given the semi-secret books to read, for example, those dealing with a bāṭinī interpretation of history, controversies connected with Imāmate and the organizational matters of the Da'wa. Lastly, only the most trusted and advanced students were shown the really Bāṭīni literature which consisted of books on Ta'wīl and Haqā'īli. Ismā'īlī intelligentsia, due to this graded secrecy developed a rather introvert and secretive nature and refused to reveal facts about themselves and their people to the general public. It may be asked as to why were the Ismā'īlīs so shy of revealing their identity. The reason may be that in the earlier stages of their history, they were an underground organization and had to be vigilant, lest they may be detected. In the hey-day of the Fāṭimid Caliphate, they tried to make themselves and their literature known, but thanks to the 'Abbāsid censorship, their books were not utilised by the historians who wrote under the 'Abbāsid patronage. After the Fāṭimid Caliphate, the Ismā'īlīs lived as a scattered community in minority pockets, spread over many countries ; and as a precaution against persecution had to adopt a certain amount of secretiveness, which as time passed became an ingredient characteristic of those people.

As the Ismā'īlī literature was not known for many centuries, historians who wanted to write about the Ismā'īlī and Fāṭimid periods had to resort to anti-Ismā'īlī sources, which were the only ones available. Modern studies by the earlier orientalists also suffered from a one-sided presentation of Ismā'īlī history and doctrines.

Silvestre De Sacy, a French orientalist was the first to discover a few *risālas* and letters of the Druzes in the Syrian mountains. The Druzes were an offshoot of the Ismā'īlīs and possessed extremist views. They represented a deviation from the usual Ismā'īlī doctrines. Therefore, their literature could not give a true idea of the Ismā'īlī principles and programme. Yet the laborious researches of De Sacy did a great service in introducing the genenal Ismā'īlī principles to the Western world and making it take interest in the Ismā'īlī history. His Book : "Exposé de la Religion Des Druzes" in two volumes published in Paris, as early as 1838, is a masterpiece of unrivalled excellence and is one of those few books which stand the test of time and never get outdated.

Défremery and Hammer-Purgstall were the first to study the history of the Nizārī Ismā'īlīs. Their works date from 1830 to 1860. They were based on general Sunnī histories ; and seemed to be anaware of a vast Ismā'īlī literature. A recent book "Order of the Assassins" by Hodgson, published in Chicago has restated the Alamūt period of the history of the Nizārīs, in which he has made use of the Ismā'īlī sources also.

S. Guyard, next, collected a few fragments about Ismā'īlī doctrines in Central Syria, and he published these at Paris in 1874 under the title "Fragments Rélatifs à la Doctrine Des Ismā'īlīs".

M. J. De Goeje, the famous editor of a whole set of Arab geographies followed up De Sacy in studying the history of another Ismā'īlī sect—the Qarmaṭians. His "Mémiores sur les Carmathes" published in Leiden in 1886 gives a most interesting study of an early Ismā'īlī State of Baḥrayn and its relations

with the Fāṭimids. He wrote a supplement to this study, entitled "La Fin de l'Empire des Carmathes" in 1895 (Journal Asiatique).

The above were either historical studies about Ismā'īlīs based on Sunnī sources or studies about the Ismā'īlī doctrine based on extremist and non-official Ismā'īlī material.

The Italian orientalist Griffini was the first to find a number of Ismā'īlī works belonging to the official Fāṭimid and Yamanī musta'lian schools. These works are collected in the Ambrosian Library of Milan. They were reviewed by Griffini in 1915 in an article entitled "Die Jungste Ambrosianische Samlung" (in Z.D.M.G.). Recently Strothmann has published single-manuscript editions of these works utilising only the Milan collection.

The famous French savant, louis Massignon, made, in 1922, the first attempt at compiling a bibliography of Ismā'īlī works. He presented it in an article called : "Esquisse d'une Bibliographie Carmathe" (in Browne Memorial volume, London, 1922).

Till now the European orientalists knew the Ismā'īlī literature in bits and fragments and were searching for more manuscripts which they believed existed yet unknown to them. Ḥusayn Hamdānī who went to London from Bombay about 1930 carried with him a whole library of rare Ismā'īlī manuscripts (a part of the Khazānat al-Muḥammadīya collected by Shaykh Muḥammad 'Alī Hamdānī). Thus he introduced to the west a representative section of the vast mass of Ismā'īlī literature preserved in the Indian libraries of Gujrāt. The West had thus discovered a hidden treasure. Hamdānī wrote a bibliographical article entitled "Some unknown Ismā'īlī authors and their works" (J.R.A.S., 1933) which was meant to be a nucleus of a larger bibliography which he could not publish as another scholar preceded him in doing so. His thesis on the "History and Doctrines of the Yamanī Ismā'īlī Da'wa" (London, 1931) created interest in one of the most remarkable periods in Ismā'īli history—a period which made Ismā'īlism a culture. The official Faṭimid-

Ismā'īlī doctrines were tersely summarized by him in an article entitled. A Compendium of Ismā'īlī Esoterics" (Islamic Culture, Vol. XI) *Ikhwān aṣ-Ṣafā*, the famous encyclopaedia was, for the first time, identified by him as an Ismā'īlī work, from internal evidence (see Der Islām XX). He contributed photograph—copies of some of his manuscripts to the European Libraries and in identifying certain manuscripts as Ismā'īlī works in these libraries. At present he is editing a voluminous encyclopaedic Ismā'īlī work, the *K az-Zīna*, the first dictionary of technical terms in Islam.

While Hamdānī was acquainting the West with the Ismā'īlī works, W. Ivanow, a Russian scholar was introducing himself to the Ismā'īlī literary treasures in the libraries of Gujrāt. Ivanow had begun taking interest in Islmā'īlī subjects while he was in Russia and had noticed a few Ismā'īlī manuscripts of the Russian Academy of Sciences in an article written in 1917. About the time of the Socialist Revolution, he came to India and got in touch with the Khoja community. His first important work "Notes sur l'Ummu'l-kitāb des Ismaeliens de l'Asie Centrale" (R.E.I., Paris) was written in 1932 exactly at the time when Hamdānī was contributing his studies mentioned above. The work which will make Ivanow be remembered always is of course the *Guide to Ismā'īlī Literature* (London, 1933). Though it is outdated and is under revision, it is one of those books which a beginner first refers. He followed up his researches by publishing the "Dīwān of Khākī Khurāsānī" (1933), "Kalāmī Pīr" (1935), "Ummul-Kitāb" (1936), "Istitār al-Imām" (1939) and "Sirat Ja'far al-Hājib" (1939). Many other articles and books published by Ivanow recently have made him the biggest personality in Ismā'īlī studies, particularly his "Rise of the Fāṭimids" (Calcutta, 1942), "Alleged Founder of Ismā'īlism" (Leiden, 1948) "Nāṣim e Khusraw & Ismā'īlism (Leiden, 1948) and "Collectanea" Leiden, 1948). This last introduced for the first time a very inferior type of Ismā'īlī literature—that of the Satpanth. It is not intended to give here a complete list of Ivanow's works, for the student can find it in some of his books. Two recent works of Ivanow may be noted, *viz.* the edition of the *Pandiyāti Jawan-*

mardī by the Nizārī Imām-al-Mustanṣir Bi'lah II and *Taṣawwurāt* of Nāṣir ad-Din aṭ-Ṭūsī. It would be seen from the above works that Ivanow specialises in the literature of the Nizārī school and that too in Persian particularly.

A-A. A. Fyzee and Zahid 'Alī took interest in Ismā'īlism about the same time as Hamdānī and Ivanow—Fyzee wrote a few articles and edited with a good historical introduction "Hidāyat al-Āmirīyya" (about the Musta'lī-Nizār split in Ismā'īlism) in London, 1938. He takes special interest in Ismā'īlī Law and has brought out a beautiful edition of the standard Ismā'īlī Law-book, the *Daāim-al-Islām* (Vol. I) by the Faṭimid jurist Qaḍi'n-Nu'mān (published in Cairo, 1951). My friend Sham'uun Lokhandwālā submitted his thesis for doctorate on the "Ismā'īlī Law". Zāhid 'Alī is known for his edition of the *Dīwān* of Ibn Hānī, the Spanish poet who flourished under the Fāṭimid regime. His recent work in Urdu on the history of the Fātimids supplies a long-felt need of the students of Ismā'īlism and its history. He has also contributed a large volume in Urdu on Ismā'īlī doctrines. Both of these are published at Hyderabad Deccan.

A scholar of great help to the advancement of Ismā'īlī studies was Paul Kraus. By the access he had to the Hamdānī collection of manuscripts, his knowledge about Ismā'īlīsm was greater than anyone else. He was a specialist in semitic linguistics and a keen student of the philosophical system of the works in general and of Islāmic philosophy in particular. It was his intention to write about Ismā'īlī philosophy, but suicide prevented him from doing so. His own contribution to Ismā'īlī studies is very little though many orientalists interested in this subject may well claim him as their master and teacher. His corrections of Ivanow's *Guide* in a review entitled "La Bibliographie Ismaeliene" (R.E.I. 1933) is valuable. Other works of his are "Raziana II" (in Orientalia V) and "Les 'Controverses' de Fakhr ad-Dīn Rāzī (in B.I.E. XIX).

Bernard Lewis's "Origins of Ismā'īlism" (Cambridge, 1940) is a standard book on the beginnings of the Ismā'īlī movement and an interesting study of the Shī'ī sects. So simple, polished

and appealing in its style and at the same time so logical, scholarly and full of information that a beginner who usually starts with this book, once having read it, will never cease to take interest in Ismá'īlī studies. Lewis has written a few articles on Ismā'īlī subjects and is going to edit the text of Qādi'n-Nu'mān's *Iftitāh ad-Da'wa*, the earliest Ismā'īlī history about the establishment of the Fātimid state.

Kāmil Ḥusayn, an Egyptian scholar, has recently entered the field of Isma'īlī studies with great success ; and with great speed has produced many a work. To him goes the credit of editing the *Sīra* of al-Mu'ayyad fi'd-Dīn ash-Shīrāzī[1] and his *Dīwān*, as well as *K.al-Himma* of Qāḍ'in-Nu'mān. One of his important works is the edition of *K.Rāḥat al-'Aql* of the famous Ismā'īlī dā'ī Ḥamīd ad-Dīn al-Kirmānī, a philosophical work of great importance. It is recently printed in Cairo. Like Ivanow's *Guide*, K.Ḥusayn has prepared another Guide in Arabic on different lines. He describes in it the works written under the Fatimid régime in Egypt, whether Ismā'īlī or otherwise. It is entitled "Fī Adab Miṣr al-Fatimīyya"—a reference—work of much use to the students. The greatest service of K.Ḥusayn is that he has made the Egyptians conscious of the golden age of their history—*i.e.* the Fātimid period, which had been ignored uptil now due to sectarian prejudice and bigotry.

Strothmann a very old German orientalist renowned for his variegated works, particularly on Zaydite and Shi'ite subjects, has recently been taking interest in Ismā'īlism. He published in Cairo an edition of a precious early Ismā'īlī work viz *K.al-Kashf* by the dā'ī Ja'ffar b. Manṣūr-al-Yaman, and a volume containing four Ismā'īlī *risālas* of the Yamanite school under the title "Gnosis—Texte der Ismā'īliten" (Gottingen 1943) with an illuminating introduction about the Ismā'īlī doctrine and an interesting deciphering of the secret Ismā'īlī code-writing.

Other scholars who have taken a keen interest in Ismā'īlism Browne and H.A.R.Gibb, the eminent English orientalists ;

---

1. My thesis for doctorate (London 1950) was by the way a study on the same *Sīra*.

Ḥasan Ibrāhīm Ḥasan and Ṭaha Sharaf of Egypt ; Jawād Masqaṭī, of the Ismā'īlīa Association, Karachi ; 'Ārif 'Tāmir of Syria, Mamour, Levy, Tritton, Semenov, Stern, Somogyi, Vatikiolis, myself and others. They have produced many works on Ismā'īlism and related subjects which it would be impossible to enumerate in this small essay. Works of the pioneers in Ismā'īlī studies, who helped in discovering the interesting literature under review as well as those of the few important contributors have only been mentioned above. The rest will be searched out by the students once an interest has been created.

Besides the above writings on Ismā'īlism, there are a few works on the Faṭimid reign generally. Only the standard ones need be mentioned. We have Wustenfeld's "Geschichte der Faṭimīden Caliphen" (Gottingen, 1881) ; "O'Leary's "A Short History of the Faṭimid Caliphate" (London 1923) ; Becker's "Beitrage zur Geschichte Aegyptens" (Strassbourg, 1903) ; Quatremére's "Mémoires Sur l'Egypte" and "Memoires Historiques sur la dynastie des Fatimīdes" (J.A., 1836-1837) and Casanova's "Les Derriers Fāṭimīdes" (M.M.M.A.F.C., 1893). On the writers under the Faṭimids we have Becker's "Zur Geschichtsschreibung unter den Faṭimīden" and Cahen's "Quelques chroniques anciennes rélative aux derniers Fāṭimīdes (B.I.F.A.O., 1937). About Druzes we have De Sacy's famous work mentioned above and P.Hitti's "Origins of the Druze People and Religion" (New York, 1928). About the Nizārīs, there are a host of studies by early orientalists, the most important of them being Hammer—Puregstall's "Histoire de l'ordre des Assassins" (Paris, 1833 and Défremery's "Nouvelles Recherches sur les Ismaeliens" (J.A., 1854-55). Art and architecture of the Fāṭimid reign have been studied by Zakī Hasan, Flury and Creswell ; epigraphy by Max Van Berchem and topography of Cairo by Ravaisse.

This, then, is the general picture of a literature that was lost and discovered. Its study has opened up new avenues of research and because of its quasi-secret nature has made it so romantic. The reluctance of its owners to show it to outsiders is fast disappearing and a desire on the part of the

Ismā'īlīs to see their history studied in the light of their own books is making the way easier for research. Though the Ismī'īlī history has been studied since a century and the bulk of the literature known since last twenty to thirty years, the most important historical and doctrinal works still remain untouched. Almost all the works of the earlier dā'īs like Rāzī, Sijistānī, Qāḍi'n-Nu'mān and Kirmānī deserve edition and study. No doubt a few important ones are being edited ; yet they are but a few drops in the ocean. It is true that many of them being voluminous need the collaboration of a few scholars. On the historical side, investigations on the spot are needed in the areas where Ismā'īlī communities first existed, for example, the mountainous Northern Syria ; the environs of Kūfa, Baṣra and Ahwāz and the most important of all, the Baḥrayn coast. It is quite possible that archaeological and numismatic evidence may be available in these areas. Two branches of Ismā'īlī history need a re-examination and revaluation, namely the post-Alamūt Nizari history and the history of the Qarmaṭian movement as distinct from the Fāṭimid one. A study of the remnants of Ismā'īlī habits, customs, organization, religious and political sentiments and aspirations as well as their revolutionary tradition and the possibilities of using it for the betterment of their social conditions, lays before one a subject most interesting and absorbing.

—: o :—

Famine and Famine Relief Work Under the Umayyads in Spain 711-1031

By

Dr. S. M. Imammuddin, Dacca.

Famine :—Spain has been rich in agricultural products throughout the ages and specially in medieval period. When the eastern products were introduced into the country and the lands were tilled by the Spaniards with the new tools and implements brought by the Arabs from the East and watered after the new system of irrigation recently introduced into the country, agriculture developed and economic condition of the people improved. In spite of all these, Spain suffered occasionally in medieval age from severe famine caused often by the draught of rain and sometimes by flood bringing in its yoke a great loss to the country and its citizens. The newly settled Arabs and Berbers, when caught in the grasp of famine, deserted their new houses and sought shelter in a more productive place within Spain and sometimes the Berbers migrated to their ancestors' house in North Africa by crossing the strait of Gibralter. The occasional occurrence of famine brought death and economic ruin to many and caused the movement of population from one part to another. Food being scarce in the market price rose to the pitch of its height. At this critical moment tribal rivalry and enmity was given up by the Arabs for the time being and one enemy came to the help of another, famine relief was opened by the State, subterranean granary was left at the disposal of the people under State management, and the rich came to the help of the poor and the needy. Instances of such famine and relief work are many as related below :—

Before the conquest of Andalus in 756 A.C. by 'Abd al-Raḥmān I, it had been caught in the grip of a most dreadful famine for six

consecutive years, consequently the people suffered greatly.[1] 'Abd al-Raḥmān's army itself had sufferd from the scarcity of food and lived on pease, before it occupied Cordova.[2] Ibn 'Idhārī gives a very comprehensive account of it. In 133/750-51 the people of Galicia revolted. In order to suppress them the royal army of Yūsuf made devastation of the land. The hunger and famine became more serious and continued according to the same author for two years from 134/751-2 to the part of the year 136/753-4. Most of the people migrated to Tangier, Zawila, Rif al-baḥr fī 'Adwa'[3] Arcila and other coastal towns of North Africa[4] from the wādī Ṣha dunah (Sidonia) known as wādī Barbat and the year became known as the year of Barbat.[5] Dozy says that Spain suffered from dearth and famine for five years from 750 to 754. So severe was the famine that many died without having food for days together, communications were interrupted by the deaths of a considerable number of couriers and most of the Berbers, who had settled in the North migrated to their native land. The severity and wide spread of famine made the proud humble and the cruel kind. Ṣumayl the greatest enemy of the Yamanites, for whose punishment he had accepted the governorship of Saragossa populated mostly by the Yamanites, became charitable towards enemies and friends alike and 'gave money to some, slaves to others, and bread to all.'[6]

The territory of Takarna (in Ronda) suffered from famine for seven years from the year 178/794-5 onwards.[7] Shortly after in 197/812-3 Andalus suffered another time from a severe famine in which specially the poor class suffered much and died in thou-

1 Gayangos, *The Mūhammedan Dynasties in Spain*, II, pp. 64, 69.
2 Dozy, *Spainish Islam.* p. 189.
3 Ibn 'Idhārī, *al-Bayān al-Maghrib.* II, p. 36.
4 Moro Rasis (*Memorias, VIII*), p. 58n2.
5 Ibn 'Idhārī. II, p. 36. Moro Rasis (*Memorias, VIII*) p. 58, *Al-Andalus*, XVIII, 96n6, cf. Lafuente y Alcatara, *Akhbār al-Majmū'ah* Madrid 1867, p. 67.
6 Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, p. 157.
7 Nuwayrī, *Historia de los Musūlmanes de Espana* (Gaspar Ramiro), I, p. 23tr.

sands. The calamity of the famine has been depicted by 'Abbās ibn Nāṣiḥ of Algeciras the court poet of al-Ḥakam I in the following two verses:

طلع الزمان بازسة جلت　　جلا تلك الكريهة جوده الغمر
نكسوالزمان فامنت ايامه　　من ان يكون بعصره عسر

"Time has brought on sterility which made him (Ḥakam I) manifest unlimited generosity.

The time was painful but his rule became sure of any further penury."[1]

Only 10 years after in 207/822-3 a terrible famine occurred in Spain and a large number of men and animals died. In some towns the price of an almudd (of wheat ?) rose to 30 dīnārs.[2]

Another terrible famine occurred in 232/846-7. Men and animals died in numbers.[3] 'Ibn Idhārī writes that domestic animals died, vines dried up and locusts came in abundance to destroy the rest half-grown plants.[4]

In 260 H/Oct. 873-4 A.C. during the time of Muḥammad I, there broke up a severe famine when an attempt made to collect taxes by the king failed.[5]

In 275/888-9, the year when Mundhir died, there was draught of rain followed by famine.[6]

Speaking about the economic condition of Spain before Abd al-Raḥmān III came to power during the time of his grandfather

---

1 Nuwayrī, p. 37 text/32tr.; cf. Gayangos, II, p. 105, 429n28.
2 Nuwayrī, p. 42 text/38tr.
3 Nuwayrī, p. 42 text/38tr.
4 Ibn 'Idhārī, II, p. 91.
5 Ibn Al-Qūṭiyah, *Tārīkh Iftitāḥ al-Andalūs* (T. Rikera), pp. 72-74.
6 Ibn 'Idhārī, II, p. 122.

'Abd Allāh, Joseph McCabe depicts a picture of the famine-striken country in the following words, "Agriculture was ruined and so dire a famine occurred that human bodies were eaten. Trade was almost extinct. The prince's treasury was empty."[1] Jaen suffered from severe famine in 297/909-10 during the time of 'Abd Allāh. Many died due to the want of food and many of those who survived escaped to North Africa. They migrated to North Africa probably because there was peace as well as food, while migrating to other parts of Spain they could have got food but not peace, as in the reign of 'Abd Allāh hardly there was complete peace in any part of the country.[2]

During the early period of the rule of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Nāṣir from 302-317H. (914/15-929 A. C.) till he declared himself Khalīfah—the country suffered from famine for four years.[3] In 302/914-15 when 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nāṣir made an attack on his disloyal uncle Abban ibn Abd Allāh, the latter look refuge in Rayyuh (Archidona) which was attacked by the army several times and the cultivation and the fruit trees were laid waste. It was followed by long draught. Consequently, famine came all over the country and people suffered seriously. Provision got scarce in the market and the price went up throughout the country. In the following year famine became more severe so much so that it had been compared with the famine of the year 60/679-80 known for its severity. Since long the people had not faced with such scarcity of food that one qafiz (Sp. Cahiz—60 pounds) of wheat was sold for three dīnārs in the market of Cordova itself where special arrangement had been made for famine relief and to meet the need of the people. God knows what happened in other towns of the country. Eventually epidemic spread specially among the poor and hungry people, who had taken unusual foods bad for health, killing a large number of them. Many dead bodies

1. *The Splendour of Moorish Spain*, London, 1935, p. 59.
2. Gaynagos, II. p 457.
3. Levi-Provencal and Gacria Gomes, *Una Cronica Anonima de 'Abd al-Rāhmān III*, Madrid, 1950, Nos. 15, 17, 55, 61 and pp. 49, 50, 73 & 80 quoted by bevi-Provencal, *Histoire*, III, p, 271 n[1].

were left uncared and unburied, because there were scarcely men left to bury the dead. Hunger and scarcity of food created disturbance in the country and made the travelling by roads unsafe. The insurgents coming from the mountains plundered the scanty food remained in the villages and towns. Communication was cut off, travelling of men and transport of goods from one place to another became difficult. The strong oppressed his own weak neighbour and above all the artisans and merchants when out for their work with their luggage and merchandise were plundered in the day light.[1] ‘Abd al-Raḥmān III took special measures to establish peace within the country and to relieve the people from the yoke of this severe famine. Distribution of alms among the poor was increased and also the charity of the people of ḥisbah from his subjects. His ḥājib Badr bin Aḥmad took a very keen interest in giving alms and in spending his own fortunes in the consolation of the people. The relief measure became effective and we do not hear of the famine in the following year 304/916-17.[2] As a relief measure Ṣalāt al-Istisqa’ was also performed. It is a special kind of prayer that the Muslims of a town or a village perform in open field for rain. When due to the draught of rain a severe famine occurred in 314/926-7, orders were issued to provincial governors to perform Ṣalāt al-Istisqā’ and it rained.[3] There broke out another severe famine in the year 317H. (929 A.C.).[4]

Ibn Bassām says that in the year, when al-Manṣur took measures to correct his son, servere famine broke out and the price of things in Cordova rose to such an extent that a Ruba‘ (25pounds) of floor was sold for 2 dinārs.[5] Ibn al-Khaṭīb says that before marching on his expedition to Barcelona Manṣūr asked his financial secretary ‘Abd Allāh ibn Marwān to submit an account of the royal granary of Cordova, which had 200,000 mudds (of wheat or other corns) in 374/984-5. Al-Manṣūr became proud of learn-

1. Ibn ‘Idhārī, II, pp. 173-4; Dozy, *Spanish Islam*, pp. 391-2.
2. Ibn Idhārī, II, p. 175.
3. Ibn Idhārī, *Bayan*, II, p. 204/317; Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne*, Paris, 1932, p. 163n⁴.
4. Ibid. Ibid, p. 213/330; ibid. Ibid, p. 163 n⁵.
5. *Dhakhīrah*, IV/I, p. 31.

ing such great deposits in his granary and said that he possessed even more than the Prophet Joseph. This might have made him slack in storing corns in the following years. As a result of his negligence and boasting famine occurred after four years in 378H./988 A.C. and continued for some years. It did not rain and the agricultural produce of the country became insufficient for the maintenance of the people. In the relief measure that Manṣūr took he had to empty his granary by distributing corn among the poor. From that time onwards Manṣūr became humble.[1]

Ibn Bassām says that during the disturbing period of 'Ali bin Ḥammud when famine broke out, and the price of wheat rose to six dinars a mudd and that of barley three, the King insisted on the equal distribution of corns among the famine-stricken people of Jaen.[2]

Flood.—Two severe floods overran some parts of Spain in the first half of the 9th century. These floods must have been followed by famine but no such mention so far known was made by any historian. Nuwayri says that in 212/927-8 it rained so heavily that a great flood laid waste many city walls of Spain and bridge of Saragossa, which was later repaired and re-established.[3] The same author speaks of another flood which affected whole of Spain in one and the same months in 235/849-50. The bridge and the mills of Ecija were destroyed. The Guadalquivir destroyed 16 alquerias and the Tagus 18, and the water of the river spread over 30 miles in width.[4] Ibn 'Idhārī says that the water of the Shenil (Genil) swell and spread to 30 miles destroying the mills working there.[5] When flood came in the Guadalquivir, supply of food to Seville was cut off, as there was no bridge in Seville on the Guadalquivir during the time of the Banu-Umayyah.

Devastation of Agriculture by military. —Throughout the age of history the poor cultivators have been the victims of natural

1 *A'māl al-A'lām*, p. 115; cf. Levi-Provencal, *Histoire*, III, p. 371 & n4.

2 *Al-Dhakhira*, vol. I/I, p. 100.

3 Nuwayrī, p. 43 text/39tr.

4 Ibid, p. 50, text/44tr.

5 *Al-Bayān*, II p. 92.

calamities—famine caused either by draught or excess of rain, or their lands are visited by locusts. They have been also victims of war fought between two rival kings and rulers or between the rulers and their disloyal chiefs and governors. In the medieval Spain during the time of the Umayyads (711-1031 A. C.) when the cultivators suffered from famine, flood and war, State came to their assistance and arrangements were made for relief work; but when they suffered joining the rebel chiefs they had to bear the brunt of consequences of war along with the rebels and State seldom came to relieve them from the distress.

Throughout this period of three hundred years rule of the Umayyads in Spain, there had been war at some intervals between the Muslim rulers of Cordova and Christian princes of the North. The cultivators irrespective of Muslims or Christians of the Upper and Lower Marches suffered from the dreadful wars, they were attacked, their houses were plundered and their fields and gardens devastated by the marching armies of the Christian princes in the Muslim part of Spain or those of Cordovan rulers in the Christian part of Spain. Instances of such devastations are many and one can find the details in any good political history of Spain. Relief came to these cultivators from their respective States though that seldom compensated the loss they suffered. During the time of rebellion the peasants suffered either at hands of the rebels or the royal armies. When they showed their loyalty to the State by opposing the rebels succour came from the centre and provincial headquarters in the shape of guards, foods and clothings during the time of strong and capable rulers.

There was strict discipiline among the armies when they marched against an enemy and a rebel. They passed through the lands of the loyal chiefs without destroying the cultivated fields and orchards of the cultivators. But just entering the area of the rebels they did all that they were asked to do, sometimes they destroyed cultivation and cut fruit trees bringing ruin to the cultivators of the surrounding towns where the rebels fortified themselves. The peasants of the rebel chiefs even after submission tasted the sour fruits of the rebellion for years together.

In 252/866 the cultivation of Albah and al-Qila' was destroyed by 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Muḥammad in order to suppress the rebellion of the people of these two places.[1] In 260/873-4 Mundhir bin Muḥammad marched towards Saragossa and Pamplona along with the commander of the army, namely Hāshim bin 'Abd al-'Azīz. They occupied Saragossa, plundered and devastated the agricultural lands and fruit trees and brought its food to Wasqah and then marched to Pamplona destroying the property of the people.[2] In 264/877-8 Mundhir, again marched to Saragossa in order to suppress a rebellion raised there and fought against the rebels destroying their cultivation.[3] In 302/914-5 'Abd al-Rahamān III marched against his uncle Abban ibn 'Abd Allah, who took rufuge in Rayyuh (Archidona) and in order to punish those who gave him shelter, their cultivation was destroyed and fruit trees were cut. This destruction of cultivation was followed by severe famine all over the country.[4]

Famine relief.—As a precautionary measure to save the people specially the courtiers and the soldier from hunger at the time of famine, caused either by the draught of rain, flood or some other calamities, be natural or man brought explained above, corns and fruits were preserved for long also mentioned above.[5] When it did not rain in time and there was danger of draught, Ṣalāt al-Istisqā (a special prayer for rain) was performed everywhere in the centre as well as in the provinces as noted above.[6] When famine actually broke out taxes were reduced. Sometimes when a cruel ruler liked to collect the taxes, his governor refused to do so and went so far as to resign their posts.[7] Distribution of alms became very common and contributions were made open-

---

1. Ibn 'Idhārī, II, p. 102.
2. Ibid, II, p. 104.
3. Ibid, II, p. 106.
4. Ibid II, p. 173.
5. Cf. Ibn al-'Awwām, *The Kitāb al-Falāḥah* (Banqueri, I), p. 679; cf. Gayangos, I, p. 65.
6. Cf. Ibn Idhārī, *Bayān*, II, p. 204/317.
7. Cf. Ibn al-Qūṭiyah, pp. 72-74.

heartedly by the nobles and the rich. The special fund reserved in the treasury for these days of calamities was used in purchasing food and cloth for the poor. The royal granary was also opened for the distribution of corn among the poor. During the time of famine in 914 A.C. 'Abd al-Raḥmān III took special care of the people. Distribution of (corn) alms increased in which special part was played by the people of hisbah and the prime minister Badr bin Aḥmad.[1] In the famine relief of 378H./988-9 A.C. and the following years the royal granary of Manṣūr, which contained a few years back 200,000 mudds of wheat and of which he was once proud became empty.[2] The famine-striken people also adopted some measures to minimize their sufferings.

The Spaniards in Medieval time took every care of their food and prepared in good days of the year very rich and nouricious food and ate bread of wheat and barley which they produced in almost every part of their country. But when bad days came on account of the draught of rain or flood, wheat and barley were either not produced or their harvest was destroyed by natural calamities or enemies. The supply of wheat and barley became scarce in the market. Whatever available was sold so costly that it was beyond the purchasing power of the majority of the people who had no recourse left but to find out some other unusual foods and breads made of unusual ingredients though unhealthy to live on. Ibn al-'Awwām explains the methods of preparing bread flour of wild seeds and roots of some wild plants during the time of famine.[3]

In these bad days making of bread from the flour of some fruits, seeds and some other grains besides from that of wheat and barley became very common. They made bread of pease which was not easily digested so they took it with salt.[4] There was made bread of rice[5] and also of millet. Ibn 'Awwām says that

1. Cf. Ibn Idhārī II, p. 173.
2. Cf. *Ā'māl al-A'lām*. p. 115.
3. Cf. Banqueri, II, pp. 328-9.
4. Banqueri, II, p. 94.
5. Ibid. II, p. 63.

the bread of millet was as nouricious as that of rice and even more tasteful than that.[1] The bread of legume according to Ibn Zahrā, says Ibn al-'Awwām, was very nouricious only next to that of wheat and barley.[2] The fruit of sibistan (sebesten) they used in making bread.[3] The bread of myrtle (rayhan) was very nouricious and tasty and in good days was eaten with meat, butter and sweet things.[4] They boiled dates with sweet water and salt twice or thrice and then milling them made bread with the yeast of wheat and barley flour.[5] They made good bread of the well ripe fruit of acorn by milling it and mixing it with the ferment of wheat flour.[6] Ibn al-'Awwam says that the bread of costal made in the same way was better than that of acorn.[7] Ibn Ḥazm says that acorn was eaten during the time of famine though this fruit was harmful for the heart.[8] They made bread comestible of the flour of pear by putting hot water, oil of sesamum and flour of wheat or barley.[9] During the time of calamity they also made bread of the fruit of almond (an Indian fruit) with the flour of comestible grains.[10] Green fig was boiled in sweet water, dried, milled into flour and made bread with it everywhere in Spain during the time of famine.[11] Fig and its bread, besides other fruits and bread made of unusual grains, might have saved the lives of many but those who could not even get these had to eat the bread of tares and linen seed. The bread of pure white tares is harmful for stomach so they made it by mixing its flour with that of lentil and wheat and eat with meat, butter and milk, etc.[12] The bread of linen seed is of little nourish-

---

1 Banqueri, II, pp. 78, 81.
2 Ibid., II, p. 95.
3 Ibid., II, p. 327.
4 Ibid., I, p. 251.
5 Ibid., I, p. 345.
6 Ibid., I, 258, 259.
7 Ibid., I, p. 260.
8 Ibid , II, p. 257.
9 Ibid , I, p. 263.
10 Ibid., I, pp. 283, 328.
11 Ibid., I, pp. 301.
12 Ibid., II, pp. 97-8.

ment which they, therefore, made mixing with the flour of wheat, millet or some starch.[1] In the bad days there were many who could not get even these unusual breads and had either to eat grass and leaves of trees or to die of hunger.

[1] Banqueri II, p. 112.

mon which they, therefore, made mixing with the flour of wheat, millet or some starch.[1] In the bad days there were many who could not get even these unusual goods and had either to eat grass and leaves of trees or to die of hunger.

" Ismailites—Their Contribution in History "

By

Syed Mohammad Taqi, Karachi

The great Muslim sect of Ismailites which derives its name from Ismaile, the son of the sixth Imam of the house of Mohammed, is a characteristically fervid and effervescent community in Islam. With comparatively unostentatious origination and a long period of incubation and preparation they burst forth into an intellectual avalanche in the 10th century A. D. The Caramathians who racked Muslim world from Indus to Nile in the tenth and the eleventh centuries were the first phase of the revolution which Ismailis had premeditated to engender in Islamic polity. The movement was ruthlessly crushed by the Imperial power at Baghdad but the forces of revolution remained smouldering beneath the surface in the expectation to seize the opportunity of coming in the open and breaking a vengeance upon their adversaries. The opportunity was offered by the faineant of the Abbasi Dynasty in the 13th and 14th centuries which saw the unprecedented upheaval of Anarchism in the history of Islam. The Ismailies carried the banner of revolt against autocracy on the one hand and superstition and obscurantism on the other. It is indeed an oddity in history that a community which so much contributed to intellectual renaissance has, in a very short span of time, itself succumbed to autocracy and superstition. The Ismaili movement has traversed a zigzag path. From eighth century to the tenth century A.D. when the Abbaside dynasty was at its height of power and prestige the movement crawled clandestinely underground but with the decline in the power of the Central Government they gradually grew in strength until in the 13th and the 14th centuries they were able to bring under their sway the whole fertile crescent beside and in addition to the adjoining country from northern

slopes of Elburze mountain to the southern approaches of the Syrian desert.

Hasan-Ibne-Sabah

Synchronising with decline in the power of Muslim pontifs at Baghdad a horrid movement of terror and devastation was initiated in the shattered homogenity of Islamic polity by one of the greatest anarchist in the history of the world, Hasan-Ibne-Sabah the Ismailite.

This movement was in my view an inevitable reaction of the rabid obscurantism of certain Hambalaites who persistently refused to appreciate the importance of intellect in deciding the matters spiritual with their strong denunciation of the syncretistic attempts at the reconciliation between religion and philosophy. The renaissance in Islam which was ushered in by the efforts of Mutazelites and came to its apex in the works of great Ismailites, Abu Ali Sina and the authors of Rasaile Ikhwanu-sufa (treaties written by some unidentified Ismailites) was discomfited by the unholy alliance of the reactionary forces and the Imperial power and ultimately faded away in the smokes of the burning books in Baghdad. This attempt at the forcible extermination of intellectualism set in an inevitable reaction which after numerous mutations took a horrible turn in the hands of Hasan Ibne Sabah.

I do not think that anybody having a sense of higher values can accept the position of holding a brief to this terrible anarchist but to be sure the insinuations concocted by Shahristani the famous author of the renowned Almilal-wan-Nahal and others following him regarding the events leading to the emergence of this horrible personality on the stage of Muslim History can hardly be considered as judicious and unmaligned.

It is indeed a tragic misfortune of Muslim history that the rationalist movement in Islam had been made to bear the responsibility for creating the condition conducive to the emergence of

both the Caramathiance and the followers of Hasan Ibne Sabah who rained terror and destruction throughout Islamdom. While speaking more factually and looking in the right perspective the responsibility should have been laid at the door of the powerful reactionary clique at Baghdad and not on the rationalist movement which had invariably been forced to retaliate. But be as it may the killing and massacre perpetuated by Sabbah and his followers sent a wave of horror throughout Islamic world which ultimately became an ever active factor in obliterating the influence of Ismailism and its eventual decandence. Apart, however from this unpleasant facet of Ismailite movement the historical fact that the Islamic renaissance was largely due to the sublime efforts of such eminent thinker as Ismailite Abu Ali Sina and the authors of Rasale Akhwan Safa cannot be overemphasized. The historical role which this great community had undertaken to perform, completed and this effervescent sect had become a fossilised remnant of its bygone glory.

Coterie of Geniuses

One of the very few religious sects which crusaded for the spread of rationalism, the Ismailites can justifiably be proud of those brothers in sincerity (Ikhwanus-Safa) who organized themselves for disseminating knowledge in superstition-ridden folks of medieval Arab Society. The brothers in sincerity or more appropriately, the intellectual co-operative whose rendezvous, was a desolate cafe-chantant in Basra, had their emiseries stationed at different centres and far-flung oases of Muslim culture. Through some thought-racking epistles written by the joint efforts of this intellectual co-operative, these messengers of rationalism working in different parts of Central Asia, were contiually indoctrinated

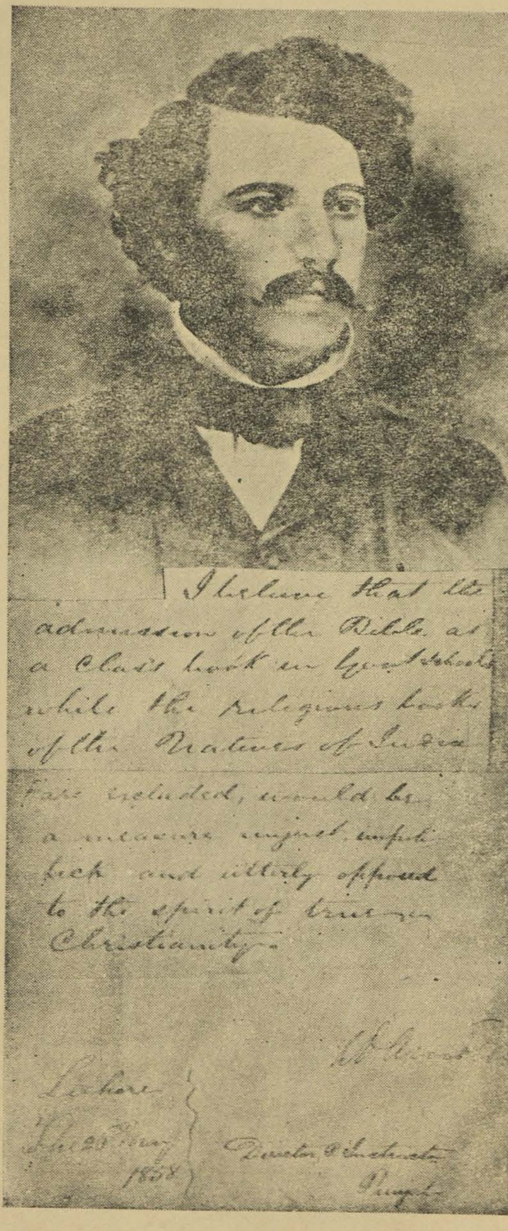
Forty-six of these epistles which escaped oblivion, are still extant and available in print. These consummate intellectual pieces of genius throw light on all conceivable moral and religious topics through the penetrating eye of a philosopher. Ranked among the best product of Muslim thought, these treatises

provided a powerful lever to spread knowledge and learning in Arab Lands. Even the great masterpiece in the shere of belle letters, the renowned "Arabian Nights" was, it is suspected, the joint product of this coterie of geniuses which aimed at revolutionizing the moral gamut of Abbaside society. To be more nearer History, it must indeed, be admitted that the intellectual giants, who penned "Rasail", were men varegated strains of thought. But it seems equally certain that the majority of writers belong to Ismailism.

Anyhow, the presence of some Ismailites in the authorship of "Rasail" beside and in addition to the remarkable philosophical feats of Abu-Ail-Sina, and other Ismaili thinkers, is an eloquent testimony of what this extraordinary community did for the advancement of thought in general and Muslim thought in particular.

—:o:—

Hind-Pakistan History Section


I believe that the
admission of the Bible as
a Class book in Govt. schools
while the religious books
of the Natives of India
are excluded, would be
a measure unjust, unpoli-
tick and utterly opposed
to the spirit of true
Christianity.
Lahore
the 20 May
1858
Director of Instruction
Punjab

SECULAR EDUCATION

A Post-Mutiny Controversy

By

Dr. Hameed Ud-Din, Lahore

"As there is no man without a soul, so there can be no real education without morals, and as there can be no sound morality without religious truth, there can be no safe system of Education without Christianity for its base."

—(Sir Herbert B. Edwardes.)

"I believe that the admission of the Bible as a class book in Government Schools while the religious books of the Natives of India are excluded, would be a measure *unjust*, *impolitic* and utterly opposed to the spirit of true Christianity".

—(W. D. Arnold.)

"As a matter of policy I advocate the introduction of the Bible quite as much as a matter of duty . . . it is *just*, *politic* and right that we should avail ourselves of that opportunity . . . Nothing will more surely conduce to the strength of our power in India than the spread of Christianity."

—(Sir John Lawrence.)

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects."

—(Queen Victoria.)

The fall of Delhi in September 1857 created an unprecedented sense of elation in British circles. The remarkable victory which re-established British ascendency in this sub-continent for nearly a century was a source of pride for all British officers particularly those who had participated in the campaign. "We

have read of revolutions and empires," wrote the valiant Commissioner of Peshawar, "but we admit that never yet was such a spectacle seen, as so small a handful of foreigners maintaining such an empire against its own army and not yielding a foot of territory to any one", and he continued boastfully, "nor Hindoos nor Mohammadans ever did the same . . . or ever will". British success in the opinion of the Indians was attributable to the former's "unanimity, extra ordinary resolution and individual devotion to public service, blessed of course by good destiny. But the victors, swayed by their jubilations, claimed it more as a moral triumph of England over a semi-civilized country ; a victory in which they saw the hand of God working for their supremacy. "Who gave these virtues to us rather than to you? why God", commented the Commissioner of Peshawar on native conversations, remarking further, "And those who counted the English as few at the beginning of this war forgot to ask on which side God was to be counted. Their (the native's) own habitual piety in referring all the results of life to the immediate operation of Providence, carries this deduction of mine home to them at once. There is no getting over it and I believe the moral effect of this extraordinary victory of ours over the whole native army will be quite a death blow to fanaticism in India". He predicted a regeneration of the country as a sequel to this fearful visitation and if he comprehended the situation aright, India was going to be Europeanized in the next five and twenty years.

To understand the situation in 1858 and the social and educational changes which the British in India proposed to initiate during the post-Mutiny years, it appears necessary to give a brief resume of British policy towards the cultural life of the natives during the century that preceded the great upheaval. The British Government had from the outset observed strict neutrality between the various creeds of its subjects. It had respected their natural prejudices and their rights of conscience and had even tolerated some of their abominable customs. As to the introduction of Christianity, Government had discouraged

all official attempts to impose it. There had long been a controversy over the activities of the Christian missionaries and Sir John Shore (G.G. 1793-98) had advocated their unrestricted admission into India. The Charter Act of 1813, however, provided for a Bishop for the whole of the country with some minor church dignitaries, but laid down that the missionaries could come to India only under a license. An agreeable method of popularizing the Bible was its study in the numerous educational institutions started throughout the country by the Church Missions, but the efforts of the enthusiasts in this direction were tempered by the repeated announcements of the Court of Directors that they "cannot consider it either expedient or prudent to introduce any branch of study which can in any way interfere with the religious feelings and opinions of the people". This could not, however, ban the private enterprise of the missionaries, although Government policy clearly pointed in a different direction. The bureaucrats preferred to maintain an attitude of indifference in the matter and were unwilling to excite the fears of the people who were always suspicious of the designs of their Christian masters.

A significant change, however, took place in the year 1835. So far the government had encouraged the study of native languages, particularly Arabic and Sanskrit, which were taught by the two communities in separate institutions, namely Sanskrit Colleges conducted by the Brahmans, and Arabic Colleges run by the Muslims. The Government of Lord William Bentinck resolved to introduce English as a language and to promote the study of English instead of Sanskrit and Arabic. The educational institutions which were founded on the new system admitted students of all castes and creeds to be taught together in one class. Another change effected was that the Bible, which had so far been excluded, was also allowed to be placed in the libraries of these institutions alongwith the scriptures of Hindus and Muslims. Educational reforms within the next two decades established a system of grants-in-aid to the denominational institutions which imparted secular instruction. The period up to

the outbreak of the Mutiny was also marked by the introduction of social and economic reforms aiming at the moral and material welfare of the people.

The conclusion of the Mutiny brought to the fore a set of extremists mostly belonging to the Evangelical school, who had so far been faced with the dilemma whether it was possible to serve both the Company and Christ or whether a choice between the two was necessary. Fired with a puritanic zeal, these men perceived the hand of God in the Mutiny as in everything else and began to look upon the calamitous event as a "Divine Judgement on the entire English Nation". They questioned many 'maxims' of the Government which had come to be regarded as 'axioms' and raised a cry for the complete change of religious policy in India. They contended that "had the sepoys possessed any real knowledge of Christianity ; had not, in fact, pains been taken to keep that knowledge from them, they could never have supposed that the English government intended to make Christians of them against their will by a series of external acts". There may be some substance in the contention but it ignores the trend of the peoples' mind in that age and the fact that the vast population of this sub-continent had not yet adjusted itself to the rule of an alien minority whose culture and political system were entirely different from theirs. In fact the Muslims, whom the English meant to supplant, claimed their own religion and culture to be superior to any other in the world. However, the cry raised by the Orthodox Christians in this country was re-echoed in England too, and ultimately found a 'fervid and effective mouth-piece' in the person of Major General Herbert Benjamin Edwardes, the well-known Commissioner of Peshawar. He was deeply religious minded and his public policy was manifestly influenced by his Christian bias. Evidence is not wanting to show that he had virtually established a Christian Government at Peshawar and had encouraged the missionaries in their task of preaching. There is also the testimony of Mr. Mcleod Wylie, a Calcutta civilian, that this very Christian policy proved the secret of his success. Colonel Mackeson, the previous Commissioner, had banned

the entry of missionaries in Peshawar, but was all the same assassinated by a Muslim fanatic. Edwardes, on the other hand, welcomed the Mission and succeeded where his predecessor had failed. "He has gone on" writes Wylie, "enlisting the best class of Mussalmans for the new native corps, disarming the mutinous regiments, holding Dost Mohammad in check, and with consummate courage and a sternness of determination, has preserved his position of appalling difficulty . . . such are the men that the natives trust and honour, and such are the men whom God uses and blesses in circumstances of national trial". He was no less than a missionary himself and while leaving Peshawar for good, made a parting offer of his house to the Church Mission in order that "the rent they could get from it might be a perpetual subscription to the funds of the Mission". No wonder that a man of such convictions was deeply moved by the events of the Mutiny He interpreted everything in terms of faith and did not hesitate to declare that God had some "vast good in store that all the bloodshed was to usher in".

"India had to be regenerated before it should be hoped to bring about any great change", wrote to him his noble friend Neville Chamberlain, "and God, in His great wisdom, has now again placed the country in our hands in a condition fit to be moulded, by wise counsels, into a state of civilization, the fruit of which must be Christianity". Falling in quickly with these observations, Edwardes looked upon the reconquered empire of India as a new trust from God, the administrative system of which needed a thorough re-organization. Before attempting any such over-hauling he, however, thought it fit to probe into the causes of the recent tragedy to find out if there had been any lapses on the part of his own countrymen. A Christian to the core, he concluded that they had committed a national sin in India which drew that horrible chastisement on them. They had been too remiss in doing their full duty towards the natives. The empire had been entrusted to them primarily for the benefit of India, but whereas they conferred all sorts of material and

cultural blessings on the people, they had denied to them the light of religious truth, *i.e.* the Bible and Christianity. The Mutiny as such was a national infliction and after suffering it, God had assisted them in regaining supremacy. To avoid a repetition of the painful experience, it was their moral duty, henceforth, to rule India on Christian principles.

With such an impelling force overpowering his mind and conscience, he drew up a *Memorandum on the elimination of all un-Christian principles from the administration of British India* and submitted it to the Earl of Shaftesbury on January 23, 1858, with the object of "forcing a public deliberation of the question in this unequivocal shape, and so ultimately bringing it before the supreme government". He sent copies of it to the Judicial and Financial Commissioners of the Punjab and through them to the Chief Commissioner, Sir John Lawrence, for eliciting the opinion of all the eminent Christian Officers.

The memorandum is a historic document in as much as it embodies a reversal of the policy hitherto pursued by the British Government in India and is perhaps the first and the last attempt to enforce Christianity through the agency of the State. It opened the flood gates of a controversy which raged almost throughout the year that followed Mutiny and was ultimately set at rest by the Queen's proclamation. Those who participated in it were such eminent persons as Mr. D. F. Mcleod, Financial Commissioner (later Lt.-Governor) of the Punjab, Mr. W. D. Arnold, first Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, and Sir John Lawrence, then Chief Commissioner, Punjab (later Viceroy of India).

"The memorandum", to quote Lady Edwardes, "struck the keynote, and was the foundation stone of Christian policy in the Punjab". It was also well-timed so as to acquaint Members of Parliament with the "practical points in which Indian Christian statesmen found the Government at fault". The gravamen of Edwardes' charge included the following practices in vogue which he considered un-Christian principles pursued under the aegis of a Christian Power.

1. The strict exclusion of the Bible as a class book, and Christian teaching of any kind, from all Government schools and colleges.

2. Endowment of idolatry and Mohammedanism by the Government.

3. Recognition of Caste.

4. Observance of native holidays in Government departments.

5. Administration by the Government of Hindu and Mohammadan Law.

6. Publicity of heathen and Mohammadan processions.

7. Public frequenting of streets by prostitutes.

8. Restriction on the marriages of European soldiers.

9. Connection of the Indian government with the Opium trade.

10. Indian Excise Laws which in effect tended to increase the consumption of intoxicating liquors.

This ten-point programme of elimination was quite comprehensive and covered the entire field in which the conduct of the British Government could be questioned. The scope of this paper has, however, been restricted to a detailed discussion of the first item, namely, *the attempt to Christianize education in British India*, a subject which focussed the attention of a galaxy of eminent educationists and top ranking administrators.

The exclusion of the Bible as a class book from Government institutions was, according to the Memorandum, a major offence, because it was one of deliberate commission and not the result of mere oversight or negligence. Government had from the very outset adopted an un-Christian and purely secular scheme of education, which was finally confirmed by the despatch from the

court of Directors on July 19, 1854, declaring emphatically that "the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, sciences, philosophy and literature of Europe". The system of grants-in-aid which it inaugurated was also based on "an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instructions conveyed in the schools assisted." Nor was the despatch silent about the status of the Bible in Government's own institutions. It declared unequivocally that the instruction imparted by such institutions should be exclusively secular. The Bible should continue lying in the libraries of all schools and colleges to be freely consulted by pupils who might of their own accord seek further elucidation of the tenets of Christianity from their teachers "provided that such information be given out of school hours . . and was entirely voluntary on both sides". Moreover, to absolve the Government of any charge of proselytism it was required that "no notice shall be taken of it by the Inspectors in their periodical visits." Such a policy coupled with the systematic discouragement of Christian Missions was interpreted by Edwardes as "toleration of every religious teaching except our own". The Bible confined to the libraries of colleges and schools, he remarked, would be freely consulted only by cockroaches and whiteants. "But now in 1857", said he, "after a wild and hideous outburst of the principles of Hindooism and Mohammadanism, which has made all hearts sick, is it not lamentable that the Christian English nation should have yet got no farther than declaring its entire neutrality between Juggen Nait, Mohammad and our Saviour. Disavowing such an attitude on moral and political grounds, he asserted that "there can be no safe system of education without Christianity for its bases", and recommended for the future that the Bible in English and the vernacular respectively, should be a class book in every college or school with which the British-Indian Government had any connection. He discounted the fears that such policy would "empty the schools of pupils" . . and stressed that "if a transition state of empty school-rooms must be endured, the sooner it is begun the better". He quoted the experience of Mission schools, which

were more highly esteemed and frequented than the Government schools wherever both existed side by side.

The political alarmists who might be afraid of an insurrection against the government, Edwardes addressed thus, "you have had your day, India has been ruled for a century on your principles, and the result is, that the empire has been shaken to its base by the Native Army, the only class of natives from whom you succeeded in entirely excluding private missionary effort. Now let the other system have a trial, it only for the sake of expediency. Let us, as a selfish experiment, see whether there is not something in the Bible which makes better men and gathers better subjects round the throne".

Mr. D. F. Mcleod, then Financial Commissioner, Punjab, commenting on Edwardes' Memorandum, exhibited the same extremism "It becomes us", he wrote, "as a government; no less than as individuals; to acknowledge and avow our conviction, that the Christian religion is alone the true one, and to avail ourselves of every legitimate opportunity, of encouraging and enabling our subjects to learn the truth and follow it". He, however, suggested some modifications to Edwardes' scheme of compulsory Bible teaching firstly, by restricting its introduction to such places where a Christian teacher or some other competent and reliable person was available and, secondly, by imparting the knowledge of the Gospel on a voluntary basis. As to the scheme of grants-in-aid, Government was advised not to support such institutions where non-Christian creeds were inculcated. In consequence of these efforts, Mcleod anticipated conversions to Christianity and he told the Government not to be influenced by any temporary excitement among the people on this account.

The Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, Sir John Lawrence, carefully perused the two documents and in his despatch to the Government of India on April 21, 1858, expressed his concurrence with the views of Donald Mcleod. Holding firmly that their educational system should not be denied the blessings of Christianity and that it was their right and duty to give preference to what they believed to be the truth, advocated the opening of

regular Bible classes in Government schools, to the exclusion of all native religions, for the diffusion of which their adherents had ample means. "But if they did need aid, it is not our business", he said, "to afford such. Christianity shall be the only religion taught in our schools, although the attendance in Bible classes ought not to be compulsory, or obligatory. . . for that would be employing wrong means for a right end. Such classes should be held where ever they had teachers fit to teach and pupils willing to hear, although in course of time they ought to have the plan carried out in the schools of every village and town throughout the length and breadth of the land." To acclerate progress on these lines, he suggested that the Education Department should have a recognised branch to promote the formation of Bible classes of "an approved character", in as many schools as possible. Inspectors should endeavour to establish them in the same way as they originated improvements of other kinds; and the subject should be properly mentioned in all periodical reports. But he did not want to prescribe it as a condition precedent to the opening of new schools, for, in his opinion, the spread of European knowledge among the natives through secular schools was also "a pioneer to the progress of Christianity". Their objects would be well-nigh achieved if, by augmenting the number of Bible classes, they could practically show to the world that by their Educational Rules, they did desire that the Bible should be read and taught.

Herbert Edwardes was very happy that he had enlisted the support of the Chief Commissioner, although only partially. The difference between them, as he put it, was as to "what Christianity *does* demand of us, and what it *does not*". But the obsession cost him the Lt.-Governorship of the Punjab, for John Lawrence, who later became Governor General, while selecting a suitable person for the post, preferred the more cool-headed Mcleod to the highly sentimental Edwardes, whose programme of the compulsory teaching of Bible would have upset the coach, he beli ved.

While the matter was thus being pursued by Christian zealots, a great educationist among them joined the discussion, to present a fundamentally different point of view. He was William Arnold, the first Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, who some how came to know of the proposal under discussion, and felt constrained to express his opinion on a question deeply affecting the department with which he was officially connected. He had not been consulted by the Chief Commissioner before the latter forwarded the case to the Government of India. Arnold, however, wrote a counter-Memorandum to Edwardes, and the document, hitherto unpublished, is of inestimable value. It is preserved in the Records Office of the Punjab Government, and I have to offer my grateful thanks to Mian Muhammad Saadullah, M.A., F.R. Hist. S.,P.C.S., Keeper of Records, and an eminent scholar of History, who very kindly allowed me access to it.

Arnold expressed his sense of consternation at the implied departure from the policy of non-interference with native religions followed until then, and the maintenance of which was now being considered not inconsistent with the admission of the Bible into Government schools. Such according to him was, firstly, impracticable as out of the 1464 Vernacular Government schools at the time in operation in the Punjab, 1,210 were Muslim, which had been prohibited from teaching their own religion. "Are we to add to this prohibition", he asked, "an injunction or recommendation to teach ours?"

Secondly, he objected very strongly to this attempt at *Christianizing Education*, on the ground that it was unwise and unjust. It would be a distinct act of proselytism, although under a less offensive name, and he "argued that the Founder of Christianity would himself have disapproved of the measure". He scoffed at the assertion of "option" allowed to teachers and students, asking bluntly, "on what principle then can you refuse the same option with regard to other religions, the religions of the people to whom the country belongs, and with whose money the schools are supported". Again the so-called *option* would be ineffectual in practice, for it would be converted

into a positive injunction by native subordinates. "Any Executive Educational Officer possessed of more zeal than discretion would very soon succeed in persuading the people that Government had ordered that which it had once *allowed* and *encouraged*". The intentions of the Government would be misunderstood, as in the case of the social and material reforms which preceded the Mutiny, and well might the people think that Government had already "brought in nearly every thing except religion, and now at last it is going to bring that".

Arnold rejected the argument based on the experiment of Mission schools. "The natives", he said, "do not dread the Bible in Mission schools, because they are Mission schools". They feel confident that mere missionaries will not succeed. But once they believe that Government entertains the same design, then indeed, their indifference will be changed for the most dangerous alarm". The Bible in the eyes of the natives had come to be regarded as a sign and badge of Christianity, and its introduction in any form would prove the feeling that "the thin end of the wedge had been inserted".

To those enthusiasts who emphasized that the unpopularity of the measure had to be braved, and that they should not fear man above God, he replied that "no Government which has seen 100,000 men alarmed for their caste, need be ashamed of feeling and expressing fear and horror at the thought of seeing 180,000,000 worked upon by the same terror". He disagreed with those who thought that it was the government's duty to look after Christianity and its propagation, just as the Brahmans and Maulvis took care of Hinduism and Islam respectively. "For what purpose", he asked, "then does the Church Missionary Society raise an income of ½ million pounds per annum? For what purpose do we take the dubious step of taxing the country for the support of three bishops and a large staff of clergymen?" And even if none of them were found to propagate the gospel, it did not follow that Government should turn propagandist. The argument that Government should not support or propagate religions which they did not believe to be true, sounded most

curious to him. It meant just this, he said, that "we the Government teach our religion because it is true, we will not allow yours to be taught because it is false",—the very language of proselytism. It was also said that since Mohammadans and Hindus were free to teach their religion in their respective schools, "we will teach our religion in ours". This, said Arnold, was a mere confusion of ideas. "Who are *we* and what is the meaning of *ours?* If Government were a wealthy individual supporting schools out of his own private property, this language would be indeed most just. It would exactly represent that true and liberal principle laid down in the despatch of 1854 and at present happily acted on. But when we talk of *our* schools, we mean Government schools, schools paid for out of the taxes of the country; taxes paid by Hindus and Mohammedans, and not by Christians, schools which belong to Government as trustees for the Hindu and Mohamedan community.—Let the trustee, if he is discreet, teach Christianity out of the trust money for the good of his wards. By all means let him then baptize them all at the point of the sword, also for the good of their souls".

Arnold pointed to another difficulty in teaching the Bible without defining the particular sect of Christianity whose point of view was to be taught. While in England perfect neutrality and freedom of choice prevailed in this matter, a latitude of that kind could not be given to the teachers of Government schools in this country.

In conclusion Arnold advocated the continuance of the *status quo*, as the principles of education laid down by the despatch of 1854 were the fairest and trust which could be found. "By this plan", he wrote "in the Punjab at any rate, Christianity derives far more from the State than any other religion, an aid which none grudge because it is given fairly on terms open alike to all. In its own schools Government suffers no religious instruction at all. Without hesitation it swept sway the religious school-books of Hindus and Mohammadans and when questioned had a ready answer, "we do not allow our religion to be taught in these schools; you cannot fairly expect us to allow yours. We

will aid schools of your religion on certain conditions; but in schools supported by the money of all classes, we cannot teach the religion of all. This language", continued Arnold, "was fair, and it satisfied the people because it was fair. But what answer am I to make to Hindus and Mohammadans if they have reason to say that after excluding their religions on the above plea, I have after all introduced my own? Shall I say that I am master? That I am the officer of a conquering Government and, therefore, will do as I please? That I teach my religion because it is true and reject theirs because it is false? Is this the language to be used? It will hardly satisfy them, I confess it will hardly satisfy my own conscience". . . and he closed his memorandum by warning the Government that the "admission of the Bible as a class book in Government schools while the religious books of the natives of India are excluded, would be a measure unjust, *impolitic* and *utterly opposed* to the *spirit of true Christianity*".

Arnold's protest created a stir in official circles. Mcleod remarked that Arnold's arguments were based on grounds which applies to a representative government, and the questions raised suited a free people like the British in respect of a Government of their own selection. He did not endorse the theory of Trusteeship for the people, as "trusteeship won by the sword involved a contradiction in terms." He adhered to his previous opinions, and maintained that "we should act according to our own light, not, according to that of the people over whom we rule". Disapproving of coercion in any form, he still believed in avowing to the natives that they regarded "Christianity, as the foundation of all that was good and great in them." Sectarianism among the Christians, he thought, was of no consequence so long as the Bible provided a common ground to all.

John Lawrence appeared to be furious. In a letter to Arnold he wrote, "As a matter of policy I advocate the introduction of the Bible, quite as much as a matter of duty . . . Surely we should lend our influence in making it known to our

subjects. . . On the other hand, nothing will more surely conduce to the strength of our power in India than the spread of Christianity." Writing to the Government of India he reiterated his previous stand and concurred again with Mcleod's views. The popular will, he maintained, was not the criterion of public good in India, nor did trusteeship mean that they were bound by the will of the people. "We have not been elected or placed in power by the people", he argued, "but we are here through our moral superiority, by the force of circumstances, by the will of providence. This alone constitutes our Charter to govern India. . . In doing the best we can for the people, we are bound by our own conscience and not by their (according to our lights) and they are to obey us". The admission of the Bible in schools, in the manner suggested by him, was just, politic and right ; and the opportunity, he felt, must be availed of.

This despatch was forwarded to the Central Government in July 1858. The Government at home, however, appeared to be influenced more by Arnold's views, and adhered to their past policy of non-interference, which was reiterated through the Queen's Proclamation (October , 1858), in the memorable words :—

"Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects".

This was further amplified by the Secretary of State's despatch of April 7, 1859, which emphasized that the course of study in all the Government institutions should remain confined to secular subjects.

A heated controversy was thus set at rest and a vigorous attempt to impose Christianity ostensibly through gentle means was perforce abandoned.

ORIGINAL SOURCES :

1. Letter dated Peshawar, January 23, 1858, from Herbert Edwardes to the Right Hon'ble the Earl of Shaftesbury,

forwarding his memorandum on the *Elimination of* un-Christian *principles from the Government of British India.*

M. S. Punjab Government Records Office, Proceedings of the week ending 3-7-1858.

Memorials of the life and letters of Major General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

By his wife. Vol. II, pp. 85-109.

(London, Kegan Paul, 1886).

2. Letter No. 99, dated February 26, 1858, from D. F. Mcleod, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to Lt. E. H. Paske, Offg. Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, paragraphs 10-20.

Forwarding Edwardes' Memorandum with his own remarks.

M.S. Punjab Government Records Office.

Proceedings of the week ending July 3, 1858.

Nos. 105-8 General and connected papers.

3. Edwardes' reaction to Mcleod's observations.

Letter dated, March 7, 1858.

Memorials, Vol. II, pp. 86-87.

4. Letter No. 41, dated April 21, 1858, from R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, to Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General.

Forwarding Edwarde's Memorandum and Mcleod's observations along with John Lawrence's Comments.

(i) Punjab Government Records, cited under No. 2 above.

(ii) R. Bosworth Smith, *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp. 313-24.

5. Edwardes' reaction to Lawrence's despatch.

Memorials Vol. II, pp. 109-110.

6. Letter No. 53, dated Lahore, May 26, 1858, from W. D. Arnold, Director of Public Instruction, Punjab, to D. F. Mcleod, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, forwarding Memorandum on the admission of the Bible as a class-book into Government Schools.

M. S. Punjab Government Records, cited under No. 2 above.

7. Letter No. 317, dated Lahore June 21,1858, from D. F. Mcleod, Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to R. Temple, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Punjab, forwarding Arnold's Memorandum with his own comments.

M. S. Punjab Government Records, cited under No. 2 above.

8. Letter, dated Lahore, July 3, 1858, from Sir John Lawrence to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor General, forwarding documents cited under No. 7 above with his recommendations and comments.

Memorials, Vol. II, pp. 194-198.

9 Edwarde's appreciation of Mcleod's reply and the letter drafted by Temple conveying Lawrence's views on Arnold's Memorandum to the Government of India.

Memorials, Vol. II, pp. 193-94.

10. John Lawrence's private letter to Arnold, expressing his personal views on the introduction of the Bible.

Smith—*Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, p. 313.

11. Pamphlet published by the Christian Vernacular Education Society.

Punjab Government Records, cited under No. 2 above.

12. Letter, dated Peshawar, August, 1858, from Edwardes to Col. Martin Lay, Secretary, Peshawar Mission, donating his Peshawar house to the Mission.

Memorials, Vol. II, p. 206.

13. Mr. Mcleod Wylie's testimony to the value of Christian policy.

Memorials, Vol. II, pp. 206-208.

14. Effect of the fall of Delhi on British policy.

Smith. *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp. 309-311.

Memorials, Vol. II, pp. 81-83.

15. Despatch, dated July 19,1854, from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India on the subject of educational policy to be pursued in British India.

16. Queen's Proclamation, October 1858.

17. Educational despatch No. 4, dated India Office, London, April 7, 1859, from the Secretary of State of India, paragraph 59-61.

Shibli's Criticism of the Muslim League

By

Dr. Zafarul Islam, Lahore

The period of ten years between the inception of the Muslim League and conclusion of the Lucknow Pact was an important decade for Muslim politics. The Muslim League, representing the concensus of educated Muslim opinion was attacked by a few upholders of orthodoxy. The severest blow came from Shibli Noamani, a scholar of great oriental learning, who was intimately associated with the Aligarh movement for more than fifteen years. His long association with Sir Sayyid conferred upon him the privilege of a special hearing when he attacked the League which was generally considered to be the political expression of the Aligarh movement.

Shibli's attack on the Muslim League was based on an appreciation of the Aligarh reaction to politics. The Aligarh School laid emphasis on education. It taught that the representative system was ill-suited to Muslim requirements as they were in a minority. Shibli decried this attitude because it was harmful to the Muslim youth and made them hidebound. "Such doctrines have been thoroughly propagated . . . . A Muslim child is born into them and maintains them throughout all the stages of his life. Whenever the word "politics" is mentioned in any section of the Muslim community one is wonderstruck to note that even the best educated youth repeat these doctrines like a gramophone.

This attitude of indifference, Shibli wrote, deprived the Muslims of any sense of struggle, courage, action, aspirations or spirit of sacrifice at a time when the sister community was rapidly advancing in political and nation-building activities. "We learn that three hundred boys are being educated in the Gurukul . . . . They have devoted their lives to their people.

We know that twenty students are studying at the (institute founded by) Servants of India Society at Poona, who would serve India for the whole of their lives at thirty rupees per month. We know that nineteen professors of Fergueson College have accepted seventy-five rupees a month for life-time. We read in newspapers that there are a number of professors in Arya College and Hindu College who are working without any remuneration . . . . (But) Our Graduates (educated in the national institution) do not reduce their market price for social and political work because our political consciousness is at its lowest ebb."

Comparison with the Hindus was hit upon by Shibli as an instrument capable of putting Muslims to shame. It was evident that he was addressing the Muslims of Northern India because he wrote that Muslims in Bengal, Bombay and Madras were "not afraid of politics". He quoted the example of Badruddin Tyebji and Rehmat Ullah Sayani of Bombay, Syed Mohammad of Madras and Syed Ameer Ali from Calcutta. He subtly implied that Muslims in the provinces outside the pale of Aligarh had taken their full share in political activity.

He justified the stand taken by Sir Sayyid in his day but pointed out that it was an expediency of the time. He asserted that conditions had radically changed and that the Muslims should align themselves accordingly. He appreciated that the Constitutional Reforms of 1909 had brought them forward but the question was whether the Muslims were treading the right path by accepting the Muslim League with its limited aims?

Shibli did not approve of the famous Simla deputation because it meant that the Muslims wanted to steal a march over the Congress which had obtained certain rights from the Government after a struggle of more than twenty years. The Muslim League, he contended, was maintaining the same backdoor mentality. Whereas the Congress passed a number of resolutions about simultaneous examination of the Civil Service, more Indian representation and reduction in military expenditure—resolutions

of all India character—and had continuously worked for putting them into effect, the Muslim League had adopted a narrow attitude which pertained to the Muslim community only. The League demanded more share for Muslims in Government service, extension of separate electorates to local bodies and proper legislation about Auqaf—all these demands were communal. "Politics does not mean struggle between two subject peoples . . . it means the representation of the people (without any communalism) in the government of the day".

The Muslim League lacked practical politicians who would strive for the demands they put forward. This was clearly visible in the instance of Auqaf or Muslim Religious Foundations. The League had submitted to the Government that the income of such Foundations was expended uselessly and that the authorities should supervise it. The Government asked the League to prove that these Foundations were mismanaged and that the demand for official interference was supported by the Muslims. The League let two years pass by without taking any step. It should have "prepared a memorial, obtained the signatures of Muslims from all over India, organized the despatch of memoranda to the government by establishing Muslim organization in every province and the newspapers should have articulated the issue of the Auqafs should have been published".

The Aquaf issue was, indeed, an issue of importance. Shibli, by giving this instance, attacked the inactivity of the League Leaders on the one hand and charted out the constitutional method of doing the needful on the other. The League, however, failed to deliver the goods. It only paid lip service to the community. " A group which thinks that the spoken word is politics can hardly understand the real meanings of the word".

Apart from the intellectual differences Shibli exhibited a personal bitterness against the League leadership. He called Leaguers " political showmen", and branded their politics as mere " hobby " and a " display of arrogance ". He contended that their information was limited, their speeches were *bizarre*,

they were not as hard-working as their Hindu compatriots and that they were incapable of any spirit of self-sacrifice.

The membership of the League was drawn from the rich and the landed, a majority of whom usually wielded considerable influence in official circles, otherwise they were people of meagre potentialities. The League membership was the outcome of a basic mistake. " The fundamental shortcoming in the constitution of the League, is the character of its membership. It is evident that there is a scarcity of real politicians and workers. At the most there may be one man for each province". Given these circumstances what could one expect from the far-flung branches of Muslim League.

Shibli drafted a few proposals for the re-organization of the League. He proposed that :

(i) The league should extend its activities. It may cater for communal interests, but should also set itself to objectives of an All-India natures ;

(ii) It should demand and work for the association of Indians in all administrative affairs ;

(iii) A joint Hindu-Muslim platform may be established for common interests ;

(iv) The big landlords and talukdars should be made to quit the Executive Committees of the League ;

(v) The Muslims should be educated politically. Discourses and pamphlets should be published and a few persons should tour the country to lecture on politics.

(vi) Honorary or paid research scholars should be encouraged for such work.

Shibli also hinted about Hindu-Muslim amity. He delved into the history of Hindu-Muslim relations and showed that cordial relations had existed between them. He cited the example

of Patiala where the Sikh ruler contributed generously to the construction of the congregational mosque. He made a passing remark to the Hindu-Urdu controversy and wrote that Hindus were contributing more to Urdu and its literature than even the Muslims. He advocated the Hindus and Muslims should unite for their common political objectives. "Though our self-appointed leaders are against such ideas, their opposition is now dying out. The community has made a foot of itself for the last thirty years. (The leaders) should pity it now, and allow it to understand that political mimicry is not real politics".

Shibli's attack on the League was a by-product of his attack on Aligarh and all that it stood for. He was personally embittered against certain League leaders. But there was more than a grain of truth in all that he wrote. The membership of the League at the time was limited either to the educated class or to the landowners. It had done a little, but the protagonists of Shibli thought that it was mostly inactive. Its *modus operandi* was, of course, not healthy. It met only once a year, held its session and dispersed. There was hardly any activity between one annual session and another. It depended too much on official patronage and thus lost its initiative.

The proposal for reform were commendable except for the opposition to the landed Muslims. More often than not these people had supported the Muslim cause by lending their influence and money. Shibli seemed to forget this. Their total exclusion from the League Executive would have been, after all, an unfair act to this section of the community.

On the Hindu-Muslim question Shibli was not convincing. The historical background provided by him was not applicable to contemporary conditions. He referred to an era when the Muslims ruled over the sub-continent but failed to realize that conditions had changed since then. The British domination and the introduction of Western political institutions were points of departure from the older historical traditions. The tolerance and the good-heartedness of a solitary Sikh Raja could not compensate for the basic and inherent differences between Hindus and Muslims.

The articles proved that the Muslims were learning the art of self-criticism. And it was indeed a happy learning for a people who had recently organized themselves politically.

Shibli's criticism of the League outlived its author because the defects which he pointed out also outlived him. Though the "Muslim Gazette" in which these articles were published was not a widely read paper yet this fact did not reduce their importance. The real significance of Shibli's articles lies in the fact that it was a singular essay in the art of self-criticism, a phenomenon without which the political growth and consequent maturity of the Muslims in the sub-continent could not have developed.

—: o :—

PAKISTAN'S EARLIEST NEWSPAPER

By

Dr. ABDUS SALAM KHURSHID, LAHORE

Like India, Burma and Ceylon, printed newspapers made their debut in Pakistan in the wake of the British rule. However, it seems paradoxical that the earliest newspaper in Pakistan appeared from Karachi only a year or so after the annexation of Sind by the British in 1843 and not in East Pakistan where British hegemony had existed for about one hundred years. Perhaps it was because Calcutta remained the hub of British administrative machinery in Bengal as well as in the rest of India for a considerable period and therefore Calcutta became the newspaper centre catering to the requirements of the entire province of Bengal. Another cause may be that it was a coalition of the British colonialism and Hindu financial interests that made the victory of Plassey possible and ultimately led to a deliberate policy of ignoring the interests of the eastern part of Bengal with an overwhelming majority of Muslim population.

"Kurrachee Advertiser", the first newspaper in Pakistan, appeared in January, 1845, from Karachi and attracted attention throughout the length and breadth of British India for its unscathing ciriticism of the Indian Press but the role played by this newspaper has to be studied in the perspective of the circumstances leading to the annexation of Sind by the British.

Sind, now forming part of the West Pakistan province, had successively acknowledged the sway of the Mughals, made submission to Persia under Nadir Shah and after his death owed for a time allegiance to Afghanistan. Since the end of the eighteenth century Sind was ruled by the Talpur Amirs seated at Khairpur, Mirpur and Hyderabad. In 1809 the British made a treaty

with the Amirs securing an undertaking from them not to permit any settlement of the French in their territory. In 1832 the Amirs reluctantly agreed that the rivers and roads of Sind should be open to the merchants and traders of Hindustan but that on armed vessels or military stores should pass through the country. A few years later, a very reluctant consent was exacted from them to the admission of a British Resident at Hyderabad.

When the Afghan war broke out, the Amirs were told that "while the present exigency lasts . . . the articles of the treaty prohibiting the use of the Indus for the conveyance of military stores must necessarily be suspended." In 1839 they were forced to sign a new treaty under the provisions of which they were required to pay three hundred thousand rupees a year for the maintenance of a British subsidiary force in their country.

During the crucial days of the Afghan War the Amirs kept their promises faithfully but they were charged of disaffection and instead of leaving the matter in the hands of James Outram, the British Resident at Hyderabad, who knew the Amirs, Sir Charles Napier was sent to Sind with full civil and military powers in 1842. This impulsive, hot-headed and extremely combative general did not seem to have any scruples for he writes in his diary[3] :

> "We have no right to seize Sind, yet we shall do so, and a very advantageous, useful, humane piece of rascality it will be . . . "

He refused to hear the voice of moderation on the part of James Outram, whose knowledge of Sind affairs was much greater than his, and within eleven months threw away all treaties with Amirs, marched into their territories, waged a fierce aggressive war, sent the Amirs in exile and by August 1843, Sind was annexed.

The woeful tales of Sir Charles' atrocities, who held absolute powers of life and death without trial and did a good deal of hanging besides flogging freely, made him known among the

people as Shaitan ka Bhai (Devil's Brother). On the other hand Sir James Outram, in collaboration with the exiled Amirs, launched a regular Press campaign against Sir Charles Napier. The leading newspaper that gave a tough battle to Sir Charles was Bombay Times edited by Dr. Buist. The tone and content of the propaganda may be judged from the following article that appeared in Bombay Times :

> "Those who three months since were sharers of a palace, are now the degraded lemans of the Feringhi. So it is ; the harem has been defiled ; the last drop of bitterness has been mingled with the cup of misery we have given the Ameers to drink ; the heaviest of the insults Mohammedans can endure, has been heaped upon their discrowned heads. Let it not be supposed we speak of this in the language of prudish sentimentalism. The officers who have dishonoured the Zenana of Kings have committed great wrong ; but for that, as for the other evil deeds attending upon so unjust and cruel a conquest, the Government which ordained it is responsible. We know now, to our shame and sorrow, the evils which flowed from frailties such as this permitted in Cabool ; and at Hyderabad we may yet discover the heinousness of our sins in the magnitude of our punishment. If one thing more than all the other wrongs we have inflicted on them, could awaken in the bosom of each Beloochee chief, the unquenchable thirst of never-dying vengeance, it must be to see the sanctities of domestic life invaded and violated as they have been—to see the daughters of nobles, and wives of kings, living while youth and beauty lasts as the concubines of the infidel, thrown aside when those attractions have departed to perish in their degradation and shame. This is the first of the black fruits of invasion for which Britons must blush. We have avoided explicitness on such a subject ; our readers will be at no loss to discover our meaning. The most attractive of the ladies of the Zenana now share the tents of the British officers. A series of acts of injustice first introduced to the Scindians the character of the British Government : what has just been related will afford them an

insight into the virtues and blessings they may look for from the advance of civilization ; the benefits and honours destined them by the most refined people of the world. This contrasts well with the reception English ladies experienced at Afghan hands."[4]

The tone and contents of this article show a sympathy for the cause of the Amirs but the picture is not as rosy as it seems to be. The Imperial interests and the cause of the glorification and expansion of the Indian Empire was dear to all including the supporters and opponents of Sir Charles Napier. The real motive of opposition was the disappointment of the men at the helm of affairs in Bombay Presidency at being deprived of their share in the loot in Sind. This aspect of the opposition is thus summed up by W. F. P. Napier in his book "The Conquest of Scinde":

> "Had Lord Ellenborough annexed Scinde to the Bombay Presidency all would have been well ; relations and dependents would have been provided for ; they would have fastened with the avidity of leeches upon the new conquest, two years would have fattened them, and given Scinde back to the Beloochees with the loss of a British army."[5]

To counteract the propaganda of the Indian Press, "Kurrachee Advertiser" was started from Karachi. Who sponsored it, was the question discussed by the opponents of Sir Charles Napier and all were unanimous on the point that it was the child of Sir Charles. Lieut.-Col. Outram writes in his well-known book entitled "The Conquest of Scinde, A Commentary" as follows :

> " . . . I have seen the Kurrachee Advertiser of the 10th of September, a paper supposed to be the immediate organ of the Scinde Government. Whether this supposition be correct or not, there can be no doubt that it would not exist a day without Sir Charles Napier's sanction, for Scinde is the only possession we have in the East to which the freedom

of the press does not extend. It is moreover published at a press belonging to one of the collectors of Young Egypt, appointed by Sir Charles Napier"[6].

In a footnote[6] it is said that Kurrachee Advertiser was a dingy lithograph executed at the Kurrachee Government Press, "certain writings in which are avowedly to supply the Governor of Guernsey with the requisite materials for defending the Governor of Sicnde."

The Friend of India, a weekly journal from Seerampore, in its issue, dated October 9, 1845, takes notice of the Karachi paper in the following words :

"The Kurrachee Advertiser is lithographed on a single, sometimes a double, sheet of foolscap paper, and its columns have hitherto been appropriated exclusively to local advertisements. The 36th number, however, which we received last week, contains a long editorial notice of the "Fictions of the Times", and a defence of the Governor of Scinde and its Government. It is the first of a series of articles which are to appear on the same subject under auspices which can scarcely be mistaken."[7]

The Friend of India says that of all the provinces in India, Sind blacks out its news. There is a regular system of espionage to prevent the leakage of news. It contiues :

"From the time when Sir Charles ceased to be a contributor to the Press himself, and the Press began to animadvert on his conduct, he seems to have resolved to punish it by withholding all supplies of information. The consequences have been injurious to himself. . . The wisest thing Sir Charles could have done when he found the Press occupied by his opponents, would have been to allow his friends free access to it, for in these days of journalism, there are few things more dreaded by an obnoxious public officer than the unanimity of the Press."

This was followed by a more bitter editorial in the same paper which said :

"It will soon be known in England, that a newspaper has been established at Kurrachee, under the auspices of Sir Charles Napier ; that it consists of articles written by men in official situations under his authority ; that it is devoted to his own special glorification, and the discomfiture of his enemies ; and that this journal is constantly dealing in assertions the most unscrupulous, in detraction the most base, in abuse the most scandalous, in language the most foul. If it be asked what journal, during the ten years we have enjoyed the Liberty of the Press here has most abused it to licentiousness, and brought most disgrace on the journalism of India, all men of all parties and shades of opinion would point without hesitation to the Kurrachee Advertiser."[9]

It may be interesting to see as to what was the reaction of Sir Charles to these allegations. However before we do so it would be useful to know his views about the Indian Press in general. He says :

"This India is filled with idle men, whose occupation is to attack through a licentious press every public man not for what he has done but for what they invent."[10]

At another occasion he became more bitter and wrote :

"What people do these papers represent ? None. They are mere organs of vituperation. With a few exceptions the editors are men whose vileness has driven them from good society. One was driven from the church for some tricks with a child ; another was broke for stealing a pearl and for cowardice. It is plausibly asked, why mind what these rascals say ? But if society, by sustaining and countenancing such papers, evince a belief in what they publish, then we must care. Suppose a set of rascals burn, by force, deserter or thief on a man's shoulder or cheek, would he

not be annoyed to be so falsely exhibited to the world ? Would he not publish the truth ? We cannot. The rascal editors assert the grossest lies, and you can't get them contradicted. I have been called "traitor, murderer, thief, coward, liar, perjurer, tyrant, epicure,—and half the good people of India believe every word. How can I enter into a controversy on my own character with such miserable wretches as Buist of the Bombay Times or Cope of the Delhi Gazette?—since arrested for thieving.'"[11]

Not only that, Sir Charles expressed his inherent hatred for the Press in a funny form too. In the course of a letter to Mr. E. D. Davenport, he wrote :

"Don't expect me ever to be in good temper, until I am in my coffin, I never will, it would be dishonest, ungentleman-like—unless I can kill an editor, which would make me fat, sleek, good-humoured."[12]

In the early phase of the Kurrachee Advertiser, Sir Charles was, at least in private correspondence, not so shy in associating himself with the views expressed in that Paper. In a letter to Davenport he said : "There is a very able officer who has attacked the Bombay Times. He began with a letter signed Omega, and has gone on with a series of facts, to everyone of which every officer in Scinde would swear ; he is putting the Indian public right."[13] However, when the scandal spread, he attempted to wash his hands off the paper. When the scandal persisted, Sir Charles in a letter addressed to Lord Ripon wrote : "I have remained for many months perfectly passive ; I have said nothing, done nothing, written nothing ; unless your lordship puts faith in the lying editors of the Indian newspapers, who say, or did say, that I was writing my defence in the Kurrachee Advertiser ; I cannot imagine that your lordship would believe anything so false ; especially as I put a contradiction of the malicious report in the newspapers and signed it." [14]

Despite vehement denials on the part of Sir Charles, it soon became evident to all as to who were the officers writing articles

in the Kurrachee Advertiser. One of them was Sir Charles Napier's nephew and aides-de-camp, William Napier, who had recently married his younger daughter Emilly. The other was Rathborne, who wrote the highly controversial articles in defence of Sir Charles under the pen-name of Omega. On the whole the tone of editorials and articles appearing in Kurrachee Advertiser was not appreciated. Outram, his old rival called the articles as "filthy' brutal and anonymous libel on the Ameers". Even Kieth Young, a staunch admirer of Sir Charles, writing about Omega's articles, says : " . . . true or false be they, he has not much to pride himself on in having written them." So is the opinion of H. T. Lambrick, a modern historian, who in the context of Kurrachee Advertiser, expresses the view that 'Sir Charles Napier's cause was also injured by the zeal of his domestic partisans in Sind'.[15]

The files of Kurrachee Advertiser are nowhere available, at least not to the knowledge of the writer of this article. When did this paper cease to appear, is also not clear. However this much is sure that the paper was alive till March, 1850, because it was quoted by the Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London, in its issue dated 18th April, 1850.[16] By that time, Kurrachee Advertiser's first contemporary in Pakistan had appeared. It was Lahore Chronicle, a newspaper of high standard. However Kurrachee Advertiser retains the honour of being the first newspaper in Pakistan.

—: o :—

SOURCES

(1) Roberts, P. E. : History of British India, Oxford, 1952.

(2) The entire background with the exception of a few facts is taken from Robert's book quoted above. pp. 325-32.

(3) *Ibid.*, p.328.

(4) Napier, W. F.P. : The Conquest of Scinde, Vol. II : London, 1845. pp. 413-14.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 459.

(6) Outram : The Conquest of Scinde, A Commentary : Edinburgh and London, 1846 (Part II). p. 497.

(7) File of "Friend of India" Seerampore, dated 1845. Vol. II, No.562, dated October 9, 1845, p. 642.

(8) *Ibid* , p. 643.

(9) *Ibid.*, dated November 27, 1845, p.757.

(10) Napier, W. : The Life and Opinion of Generales Sir Charles James Napier, London, 1857, p.295.

(11) *Ibid.*, pp. 304-5.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 353.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 357.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 419.

(15) Lambrick, H. T : Sir Charles Napier and Sind : Oxford, 1952, p. 261.

(16) Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London. No. 183, p. 173.

SOURCES

(1) Roberts, P. E.: History of British India, Oxford 1952.

(2) The entire background with the exception of a few facts is taken from Robert's book quoted above, pp. 323-32.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 323.

(4) Napier, W. (Ed.) The Conquest of Scinde, Vol. II, London 1845, pp. 414-16.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 459.

(6) Outram: The Conquest of Scinde, A Commentary, Edinburgh and London, 1846 (Part II), p. 497.

(7) File of "Friend of India", Serampore, dated 1845, Vol. II, No. 562, dated October 9, 1845, p. 642.

(8) *Ibid.*, p. 643.

(9) *Ibid.*, dated November 27, 1845, p. 757.

(10) Napier, W.: The Life and Opinions of General Sir Charles James Napier, London, 1857, p. 298.

(11) *Ibid.* pp. 304-5.

(12) *Ibid.*, p. 353.

(13) *Ibid.*, p. 357.

(14) *Ibid.*, p. 419.

(15) Lambrick, H. T.: Sir Charles Napier and Sind: Oxford, 1952, p. 263.

(16) Indian News and Chronicle of Eastern Affairs, London, No. 144, p. 173.

The Afghan-Sikh Tussle Over The Valley of Peshawar

By

Dr. Kh. A. Haye, Kabul

The historic city of PESHAWAR has been through the ages the chief town of the valley of Peshawar. The extensive plains around it have quite often served as strategic positions for several historic battles.

The valley of Peshawar formed a part of the kingdom of Afghanistan which Ahmad Shah Abdali had carved out in the 18th century. Raja Ranjit Singh, ruler of the Punjab, who had very early in his career, realized the strategic importance of the valley of Peshawar, made a constant endeavour to push forward towards the north-west the boundaries of his newly founded kingdom.

By 1813-14 Ranjit Singh had succeeded in extending his authority right up to the banks of the Indus. The political state in AFGHANISTAN[1] had become rather critical through fratricidal wars among the Sadduzai brothers, and the wily Sikh Raja was not slow in his attempts at exploiting the situation. He crossed the Indus on November 20, 1818,[2] advanced to Peshawar and overran the valley. The Afghan Governor, Yar Muhammad Khan[3], fled to the hills. Ranjit Singh appointed Jahandad Khan as his Governor, who promised to him an annual tribute in horses, rice and money. In 1820-21 Ranjit Singh was successful in annexing the Derajat—a long strip of the plain country between the Indus and the hills. But not long afterwards Yar Muhammad

---

[1] Under Shah Mahmud (1809-1818) who was a brother of Shah Zaman (1793-1801) and Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk (1803-9).

[2] *History of the Punjab* by Sayid Mohammad Latif, Vol. II, p. 46.

[3] One of the five 'Peshawar Brothers'. The other four were---Ata Mohammah Khan, Sultan Mohammad Khan, Syed Mohammad Khan and Pir Muhammad Khan.

Khan re-appeared on the scene, drove out Jahandad Khan and recovered possession of Peshawar.

In December 1822, Ranjit Singh sent to Peshawar Hakim Aziz-ud-Din, his most trusted Minister and confidential physician, to demand the usual tribute from Yar Muhammad Khan. The latter agreed to offer him some fine horses as the requisite tribute[1] and sent him off.

Muhammad Azim Khan[2] who had by then made himself the virtual ruler of KABUL, did not approve of Yar Muhammad Khan's submissive attitude, and accompanied by his half-brother Dost Muhammad Khan,[3] swooped down upon Peshawar on January 27, 1823. Yar Muhammad Khan again sought refuge in the Yusufzai hills. But Ranjit Singh sent his agents to Peshawar to persuade Sultan Muhammad Khan, the most influential of the 'Peshawar Brothers' to join the Sikhs, promising to deliver Peshawar over to them. They agreed to the offer.

The Battle of Nowshehra

On March 14, 1823, the AFGHAN and SIKH forces met at Nowshehra. The Afghan troops were stationed on the right bank of the river Kabul. The battle was pitched and fierce, and fought with a religious zeal and bigotry on both sides. The Sikhs were overpowered for a time and their leader Phula Singh Akali[4] was slain. The Afghans then advanced and threw the Sikh infantry into confusion. Thereupon Ranjit Singh who had arrived on the spot from Lahore, appealed to his troops in the name of religion, and also called in fresh troops for support. He also ordered his Nujib and Gurkha battalions to charge the

---

1 *History of the Punjab* by Sayyid Mohmmad Latif, Vol II., p. 69.

2 A son of Payanda Khan and half-brother of the famous Amir Dost Muhammad Khan Barakzai.

3 Who subsequently established himself in Kabul and founded the Barakzai dynasty.

4 *History of the Punjab* by Sayyed Mohammad Latif, Vol. II. p. 70: *A History of the Sikhs* by G. D. Cunningham, p. 161.

enemy and destroy them. The Afghans held their position successfully till nightfall. But their leader was misled by a false rumour that the Sikhs had approached their rear, and it made them leave their posts and retire from the field of battle.[1] Ranjit Singh entered Peshawar on March 7, sacked the town and plundered the country up to the Khaiber Pass.[2]

Next year Yar Muhammad Khan submitted[3] to Ranjit Singh who, realising the administrative difficulties of the valley, promptly agreed to allow him to hold charge of Peshawar as his tributary, conferred Hashtnagar on his brother Syed Muhammad Khan, and gave Kohat and Hangu to his half-brother Nawab Samad Khan.

On the death of Yar Muhammad Khan the Sikhs directed PESHAWAR to be delivered over to his brother, Sultan Muhammad Khan, but the latter was soon defeated by his own brother, Syed Muhammad Khan. In 1830 Ranjit Singh despatched a force under the command of Prince Sher Singh and General Ventura and restored Sultan Muhammad Khan without much inconvenience.

On March 19, 1833[4] Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk of the Sadduzai brothers entered into a treaty[5] with Ranjit Singh, whereby he formally ceded to the Sikh Ruler[6] the districts beyond the Indus including Peshawar. In 1934, Ranjit Singh sent his grandson Nao Nehal Singh who took possession of Peshawar.[7] Sultan Muhammad Khan took refuge in Bajaur and Peshawar was lost to the Afghans for good.

---

1 *Book No. 141, Letter* No. 41, *Punjab Records.*

2 CUNNINGHAM, P. 161.

3 *Book* No. 97, *Letter* No. 122; *Book* No. 108, *Letter* No. 88—*Punjab Records.*

4 *History of British India* by Hugh Murray, P. 546.

5 Which subsequently became the bases of the famous 'Tripartite Treaty of 1838.'

6 (*Tarikh-i-Salatin-Afghanan* by Ahmad Yadgar p. 445, *History of the Punjab* by Syyed Mohammad Latif,

7 1250 A. H, *Siraj-ul-Tawarikh*, p. 125,

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan Barakzai, who had established himself as the Amir of Kabul in 1826, was now the undisputed master of Afghanistan. He was gifted with a robust vigor of mind and body and was shrewd and far sighted. He could not bring himself to accept the Sikh hold over the Peshawar valley as a *fait accomplice.* In 1834, therefore, he wrote[1] to Ranjit Singh demanding to evacuate Peshawar. But the latter tried to confuse the issue by offering to give to the 'Peshawar Brothers' the district of Kohat if the Amir would also permit himself to confer upon them the district of Jalalabad. This ingeneous proposal infuriated the Amir who broke off the negotiations.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan Barakzai then wrote to Captain Wade,[2] British Political Agent at Ludhiana, seeking British intervention in the matter, but he was informed that it could not be done. The resolute Amir was unprepared to take the aggressive tactics of the Sikhs lying down and he decided to make a bid for Peshawar by declaring *Jihad* against the Sikhs. He tried to enlist the support of the Amirs of Sindh. The latter agreed to do so provided the Amir of Kabul would make a treaty[3] for the integrity of Sindh and practical aid in the event of Sindh being attacked by the English, the Sikhs or any other enemies.[4]

On December 10, 1834, the Amir of Kabul despatched in advance to Jalalabad a section of his troops under his illustrious son Muhammad Akbar Khan. The Afridi chiefs promised to stand by him to the bitter end and the Bajauri and Yusufzai chiefs offered their whole-hearted support and full cooperation against the wily Sikhs.

At the beginning of 1835, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan proclaimed the actual *Jihad*[5] against the Sikhs and marched his

---

1 *Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 1. *Punjab Records.*

2 *Ibid*

3 *Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 37, *Punjab Records.*

4 *Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 6, *Punjab Records.*

5 *A Memoir of India & Afghanistan* by Dr. J. Harlan. p. 124. *History of the War in Afghanistan* by J. W. Kaye, Vol. 1, p. 133.

way to Jalalabad. The Afghan forces armed with swords, shields, spears, bows and arrows, match-locks, rifles, etc., soon arrived at the village of Isakhel in the neighbourhood of Peshawar.

Ranjit Singh, whose own forces numbered 40,000,[1] was alarmed[2] at the unusual preparations of the Afghans. He placed his battalions of infantry in separate divisions around his camp with the cavalry in the rear and artillery in the centre, so as to form a close line of investment.[3] He deputed Dr. J. Harlan[4] and Faqir Azizud Din as his envoys to the Afghan camp for 'negotiations'. The political manoeuvre proved effective and his envoys succeeded in their unholy task of making a division in the Afghan camp and winning over to the cause of their Sikh masters, Sultan Muhammad Khan[5] of the 'Peshawar Brothers'.

The Amir's Prime Minister, Mirza Sami Khan, and his own son Muhammad Afzal Khan, were anxious to strike a blow, but Nawab Jabbar Khan, the Amir's half-brother, prevailed upon him not to risk his fame to the head of a divided force but to retire[6] honourably. On May 11, 1835, therefore the Afghan forces retreated from the field.

A close study of contemporary records shows that if the Amir had taken the risk of attack when Ranjit Singh was still on

---

1 *The Punjab as a Sovereign State* by Dr. G. L. Chopra, p. 31.

2 *Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 125, *Punjab Records*.

3 *Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 47, *Punjab Records*.

4 *Author of 'A Memoir of India and Afghanistan'* who was intimate with Sultan Muhammad Khan, the lately desposed chief of Peshawar. He was to attempt to despatach him from the Amir by offering him the district of Kohat, Tonk, Bannu and a Jagir for himself and his brothers Pir Muhammad Khan and Syed Muhammad Khan—Wade to Macnaghten, dated the 5th May, 1835—*Book* No. 141, *Letter* No. 40, *Punjab Records*.

5 In fulfilment of the terms offered to Sultan Muhammad Khan, Ranjit Singh finally settled on him and his brothers the following *jagirs:*
(a) Sultan Mohammad Khan-Hashtnagar—150,000.
(b) Pir Muhmmad Khan-Hangu—120,000.
(c) Syed Muhmmad Khan—30.000.
Book No. 141, *Letter* No. 47, *Punjab Records*.

6 Wade to Macnaghten-Book No. 141, Letter No. 43, *Punjab Records*. *Narrative of various journeys to Baloochistan, Afghanistan and the Punjab*, by Charles Masson, Vol. iii, pp. 340-1.

his way to Peshawar, he might probably have fared better. Anyway he suffered considerably in public estimation by withdrawing his forces from the field.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan Barakzai was a man of great political acumen and practical wisdom. He wrote several letters to the British Government in India asking to exert diplomatic pressure on the Sikh Ruler for the restoration of Peshawar to the Amir. But Lord Auckland, the Governor General of British India, in his letter of August 22, 1836, informed him that 'it is not the practice of the British Government to interfere with the affairs of other independent states'.

Having become convinced of the fact that British diplomacy would not help him recover possession of Peshawar, the Amir began to arouse in his favour the sympathies of Persia and Russia. He sent an envoy with a letter[1] to Muhammad Shah, the King of Persia, appealing to him for help against that 'diabolical tribe' the Sikhs failing which he would have no choice, and must connect himself with the English, who will thus obtain complete authority over the whole of Afghanistan.

He sent another letter to the Emperor of Russia describing that the Sikh army was being commanded by British officers. But he sought only financial aid from those quarters and moral support that he was likely to get from such an alliance.[2] He was too wise to permit the armies of any of these Powers to enter Afghanistan. But his efforts failed in that direction and he had to lean once again towards the British.[3]

Ranjit Singh too was alive to the diplomatic overtures of the Amir. He feared that an Anglo-Afghan alliance was on the anvil. He, therefore, attempted to win the Amir over to his

---

1 Enclosure to Letter No. 40 from McNeill—to Viscount Palmerston—*Correspondence relating to Persia and Afghanistan (1834-9), p. 21. Punjab Records.*

2 Letter from McNeil, Teheran, dated 22 January, 1837, *Book No.* 119, *Letter* No. 22—*Punjab Records.*

3 Captain Wade to the Government of India—July 19, 1836.

side by giving him vague hopes of ceding Peshawar and asking him to send him some fine horses.[1] But the Amir ignored his overtures.

The Battle of Jamrud and after

Hari Singh Nalwa, the Sikh Governor of Peshawar, was anxious for strategic reasons to command the mouth of the Khaiber Pass. He occupied the fort of Jamrud[2] whereupon the Khaibar chiefs were alarmed and they invited[3] the Amir of Kabul for help against the aggressive Sikhs. The Amir readily agreed to avail himself of the opportunity.[4] It was because Dr. J. Harlan who had by then left service with the Sikh ruler and gone over to Kabul to join the Amir's court, pressed him for another attempt on Peshawar.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan applied all the energy of his masterful nature to the task of raising an army and in the spring of 1837 he despatched some 20,000[5] brave Afghans, both horse and foot, under the command of his two sons—Muhammad Afzal Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan, with Mirza Sami Khan,[6] his minister to serve as their adviser.

The Afghan army laid siege to the fort of Jamrud on April 30, 1837. Hari Singh Nalwa came to the relief[7] of the garrison from Peshawar with about 10,000 men of all ranks and twenty pieces of artillery. An action took place on the same date. The two Afghan brothers 'fought with a firmness, vigilance and ability which would have done honour to the oldest marshals of the

---

1 *CUNNINGHAM*—p. 210.

2 *Book* No. 10 8; *Letter* No. 28—*Punjab Records*.

3 *Life of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul by* Munshi Mohan Lal Vol. I, P. 226.

4 Captain Wade to the Government of India—May 1, 1837.

5 *Book* No. 108, *Letter* No. 89—*Punjab Records*.

6 'Dost Mohammad Khan'—*Calcutta Review*, March 1847, p. 30. (*Life of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan of Kabul* by Munshi Mohan Lal, Vol. I, p. 226.

7 *MOHAN LAL*, Vol. I p. 227.

world.'[1] In the early hours of the struggle the Sikhs had the upper hand and they captured fourteen Afghan guns[2] but it was not long before they were overpowered by the heroic Afghans and made to part not only with all the captured guns, but also three of their own.[3] Hari Singh Nalwa fell fighting and the Sikh troops in consequence fell back and entrenched themselves under the walls of Jamrud.[4] The brave Afghans breached the walls of the fort and made an attempt to storm it. The fort was incapable of sustaining a siege for long, whereupon the Sikhs abandoned it and retreated to Peshawar.

The Afghans ceased to follow up their victory to the walls of Peshawar, perhaps because it had been given out that Sikh reinforcements went pouring in from Lahore and were almost within striking distance. Consequently they retired[5] from the field of action. The Sikhs lost 2,000 warriors while the loss of the Afghans did not exceed 1,000.[6]

From a close study of the contemporary records it appears that the main cause of the Afghan failure to capture Peshawar was an utter lack of discipline[7] in their ranks. The Afghan army was for the most part composed of medley troops, called '*dasta*' led by semi-independent chiefs who stood on terms of equality with one another and acted for themselves instead of concentrating the command into a single hand. The Sikhs though equally indisciplined, knew at least when to obey and strike the enemy as one man.

The British Interests in the Peshawar Valley

The British Government in India had watched with interest the development in this part of the sub-continent. Soon afterwards

---

1 (*LATIF*, p. 361. *MASSON*. Vol. III, p. 384.

2 G. L. CHOPRA, p. 32.

3 MASSON, Vol. III, p. 385-87, *G.L. CHOPRA*—p. 32.

4 *MOHAN LAL*, Vol. 1,—p. 228.

5 Dost Mohammad Khan'---*Calcutta Review*, No. XIII, March, 1847,

6 p. 30. *SIRAJ-UL-Tawarikh*, p. 128.

MEMOIR—p. 135.

7 *Book No.* 108, *Letter* No. 89—*Punjab Records*.

it sent the famous 'Commercial Mission' to Kabul under Sir Alexander Burnes. But it failed in its object because the British Government considered it impolitic on her part to persuade Ranjit Singh to cede the much-coveted city of Peshawar to the Amir of Afghanistan, who never ceased to demand it as the one condition of good will and friendly relations between his and the British Government.

On September 11, 1837,[1] Mr. Macnaghten, on behalf of the Government of India wrote to Captain Wade saying :

> "If a reconciliation could be effected between the Barakzai Brothers and tranquillity on a durable bases could be at the same time established as a consequence of that reconciliation, matters reverting to the state in which they were previously to the permanent occupation of Peshawar by the Sikhs, such a result would unquestionably be more satisfactory than if the same results were obtained by means of our mediation".

It was in 1848, when the Sikhs, of their own accord, ceded this great city as the price of military aid against their English foe, that Amir Dost Muhammad Khan's dream of the possession of PESHAWAR was realized even though for a very short time.

The British Government knew it fully well that the hold over the valley of Peshawar was great drain upon Ranjit Singh's resources.[2] But they could not bring themselves to see Peshawar in the hands of the Amir of Kabul. They were keen to have this strategic city remain as a part of the Sikh State so that it might eventually fall into their share, which actually happened after the Second Sikh War.

---

1 *Book* No. 119, *Letter* No. 56—*Punjab Records.*

2 Macnaghten to Wade, May 15, 1837. *Book* No. 119 *Letter* No. 18—*Punjab Records.*

[illegible] the famous 'Commercial Mission' to Kabul under Sir Alexander Burnes, but it failed in its object because the British Government considered it impolitic [illegible] to [illegible] Ranjit Singh [illegible] the [illegible] of Peshawar to the [illegible] of Afghanistan, who never ceased to demand it as a condition of good will and friendly relations between [illegible] and [illegible] Government.

On September 15, 1837, Mr. Macnaghten, on behalf of the Government of India wrote to Captain Wade saying :-

"If a reconciliation could be effected between the Barakzai Brothers and the Sikhs on a durable basis would be [illegible] [illegible] if established as a consequence of [illegible] Peshawar being restored to the state in which they were previously to the permanent occupation of Peshawar by the Sikhs, such a result would unquestionably be more satisfactory than if the same results were obtained by means of armed action".

[illegible] was in 1849, when the Sikhs, of their own accord, ceded great [illegible] in the pages of [illegible] that [illegible] their [illegible] that while Dost Muhammad Khan's dream of the possession of PESHAWAR was realized [illegible] though for a very short [illegible]

The British Government knew it fully well that the hold [illegible] of Peshawar was great drain upon Ranjit Singh's [illegible]. But they could not bring themselves to see [illegible] the hands of the Amir of Kabul. They were keen to have [illegible] strategic city remain as a part of the Sikh State [illegible] [illegible] events [illegible] their [illegible] which [illegible] happened [illegible] the Second Sikh War [illegible]

[illegible] No. [illegible] Records.

[illegible] to Wade, September 15, 1837 [illegible] No. 119 [illegible] No. 18—

A Medieval Muslim Treatise on Government

By

Dr. (Mrs.) Afsar Salim Khan, Peshawar

I take the opportunity of presenting my critical analysis of the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' or 'Precepts On Government,' a unique treatise dealing with the intricate problems of government and administration and providing remedies for their solution. This attempt on my part is motivated by two chief considerations. First, and above all, while our seats of learning are concentrating their very great attention on the study of Western Political Theory, and as a result of which our students obviously develop a Western approach to political problems, Eastern and more especially Muslim Political Theory, is receiving a scant attention. In defence, the plea that either material at our disposal runs thin or that Muslim Political Theory is couched in the spirit and idiom of Theology and Ethics lacking solid political foundations as generally advocated by European orientalists, can be put forward. Personally, I would beg to disagree with the above observations. If only we dive deep, a complaint of like nature will lose weight. Besides, a penetrating glance at the medieval Muslim political literature would reveal that unlike a good majority of Western political thinkers, their Muslim counterparts enjoying the advantage of close access to the holders of political power, were in a better position to expound theories tested on the touchstone of experience and reality. Secondly, the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari', unlike other works, provides a criterion for the evaluation of its author's true personality, mental make up and his individual and social prejudices. Hence, its unexaggerated importance will be realised by all historians of the pre-Moghul period of Indo-Pakistan history.

A commentator of the political doctrines of the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' is, first of all, confronted by the question of its authorship, which its form brings into question. A minute study of the extant manuscript copy of the work available in a rather damaged form at the Commonwealth Relations Library, London,[1] reveals the mention of the author's name twice on the first folio as Zia-i-Barni, the well-wisher of the royal court. Every reader, at first sight, shall automatically connect this Zia-i-Barni with the illustrious author of the 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi', the Nat-i-Mohammadi, and the Tarikh-i-Ale Baramaka, who flourished during the reign of Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq (1325-1351 A.D.), and is reported to have breathed his last during the reign of his successor, Sultan Firoz Shah Tughlaq (1351-1388 A.D.)[2]. But, the form and contents of the work suggest its compilation during the Ghaznavide period of Turko-Persian history. At one place the author states: "And to-day thirty-six years have passed since Sultan Mahmud is ruling and carrying on the administration according to these laws."[3]

Besides, the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' rotates round the figure of Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin and is replete with his admonitions on 'Government.'[4] Ghaznin has been described very explicitly as the dar-ul-mulk, and Khawaja Ahmed Hasan Maimandi, Ali Kheshawand and Abu Suhl Isfraini[5] have been cited with full exuberance. No reference even casually is made about Delhi, whom Barni in his other works relates as the 'pupil of its residents' eyes' ; there is no mention of any contemporary Sultans of Delhi, and even no reference is found about Sheikh Nizam ud-din Auliya, the author's spiritual guide, to whom his works must offer esteem. Moreover, the utilised source-material also belongs to pre-Ghaznavide period. It is probably on the authority of these facts that the earliest cataloguer of the work, Stewart, in his catalogue of the Oriental Library of Tippoo

---

1 *Vide* Ethe, Cat Per Mss. No. 1149.

2 *Vide* Siyar ul-Auliya, Delhi edi. pp. 312-3.

3 F. J. f 158b.

4 *Ibid.* ff 6b, 78a, 90b, etc.

5 *Ibid.*, f. 138b.

Sultan, states : "The Fatawa-i-Jahandari is a work dedicated to Mahmud of Ghaznin about the commencement of 11th century era". [1]

However, in spite of all the glowing evidence militating against Barni's authorship, there are, in fact, powerful reasons for concluding that he and none else could have seen the author for example the absolute similarity of ideas, language and style, the voluminous use of Hindi vocabulary poignant references about his state of brokenness and penury. Barni's portrayal of Sultan Mahmud as the eponymous hero of the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' and not the reigning sovereign, Sultan Firoz Shah, is also justified, when a glance at his life story is cast. Towards the last few years of his life, Barni felt a wronged man, and the only ray of hope dawning in his life of utter gloom was the composition of a work through which he could convince the reigning sovereign of his undoubted loyalty moving him to grant a pension for his maintenance in his declining age. To Barni's great woe, his matchless 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi' failed to attract the royal attention. This futulity of attempt and strenuous labour put an end to all his future hopes in the munificence of the reigning Sultan. In grave frustration, he exclaims thus : "If the author had written this history during the reign of Sultan Mahmud or Sultan Sanjar, the fame of this history and of the historian would have spread throughout the length and breadth of the lands of Islam." [2]

Thus, Barni sought another path to immortality. By dedicating his work to Sultan Mahmud and confining it to his glories and services rendered to the 'True Faith' (Din-i-Haq), he was convinced about the perpetuation of his name in the annals of history. Moreover, by pretending that the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' was compiled during the reign of Sultan Mahmud, he was at full liberty to pass his judgment freely without having to fear the goblet of poison like Socrates

---

1 Cambridge, 1809.

2 T. F. S., p. 124.

The remarkable merit of the dicta, therefore, lies in its fearless and bold expression of the problems and evils of the sultanate of Delhi. A solitary example shall suffice here—Barni is full of lavish praise and appreciation for Sultan Firoz Shah in his last chapters of the 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi,' but in the Fatawa-i-Jahandari on folio 203a and b, a clear insinuation regarding the religious policy of the Sultan shall be observed.

Importance of the Work

Amidst the wealth of historical works, biographical compilations, *belles lettres*, legal literature and mystic table talk produced by medieval Muslim scholars in the sub-continent of Indo-Pakistan during the pre-Moghul period of our history, it is indeed surprising that little speculation on the nature and end of government is available. The reason for this comparative deficiency is to be sought particularly in the lack of initiative and interest on the part of our Muslim Sultans of Delhi. None of them exhibited an inclination towards works on 'government and administration' as for example Caliph Mu'tasim (834-842 A.D.) in ordering the compilation of the 'Suluk ul-Muluk fi Tadbir ul Muluk[1] by Ibn-i-Abir Rabi' or Saif ud-daulah, who made possible the writing of Abu Nasr Mohammad Farabi's (870—950 A.D.) five works on Politics[2] by offering him refuge, or Malik Shah (1072—92 A.D.) in suggesting the composition of the 'Siyasat Nama'[3] by Nizam ul-Mulk Tusi have. Nor did any Sultan of Delhi endorsed his own views on Ethics and Politics in the form of a practical handbook as did Kaiqaus in his 'Qabus Nama'.[4]

Indeed, leaving the Fatawa-i-Jahandari apart, no other exclusive work by an Indo-Pakistani Muslim during the period under observation (1206-1526 A.D.) treating the nature and end of 'government' can be cited. The 'Adab ul-Muluk wa

---

1 Lithographed at Cairo.

2 *Vide* Enc. of Isl. vol. 11, pp. 53-55.

3 Edi. Scheffer, Paris, 1897.

4 Edi R. Levy, G. M. S., 1951.

Kifayat ul-Mamluk" of Fakhr-i-Mudabbir, though devotes some introductory chapters to the subject, it is overwhelmingly a dissertation on the art of war.[1] Similarly, the 'Zakhirat ul Muluk' of Ali Shihab Hamadani reflects more on 'Ethics' and 'Mysticism' rather than on 'Politics'.[2] Hence, the fact remains that the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' ranks as the only major dicta on 'Statecraft' produced by the pen of an Indo-Pakistani Muslim during the pre-Moghul period of Indo-Pakistan history.

Scope

Examining the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' from the modern division of the science of Politics into Theoretical and Practical or Applied Politics as outlined by Jellink, Janet, Pollack, etc., it appears to deal with both the aspects. According to my arrangement and classification, it consists of twenty-four *nasaih* ; some throwing light on the origin, nature and end of 'government', while others showing concern with concrete administrative details, *e.g.* the appointment and duties of various groups of officials, organisation and importance of the army, war strategy and the like.

Method

Almost all *nasaih* with occasional exceptions open with the admonitions of Sultan Mahmud based on general rules of political conduct. This method of expression bears a close resemblance with that of Aristotle, Montesquieu aud Maine, who employed the comparative method of Political Science. It is also historical to a large extent as every idea is enunciated after testing it on the scales of tradition and history. However, some of the anecdotes suffer gravely from historical inaccuracy. Obviously, Barni being driven mad by constant disappointments and frustrations, could not be expected to have checked his material before utilisation. Passing his last days amidst great economic destitution and writing at an age, when he, according to his own statement, was rendered toothless, helpless and broken

---

1 Ms. I.O. 647.

2 *Vide* Ethe Cat, Com Rel Lib, Lond., No. 1130.

down, his memory was, naturally, to play false with him. Thus, errors of both chronology and facts as evidenced in the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari' equally warn all readers of his singular 'Tarikh-i-Firoz Shahi' against the *ipso facto* acceptance of the author's recordings.

Unlike Plato, Barni's political theory breathes in the spirit of reality and existing truth. As a courtier to Sultan Mohammad b. Tughlaq for over seventeen years and hailing from an aristocratic family enjoying the close confidence of the contemporary Sultans of Delhi, he like Machiavelli enjoyed the advantage of a personal observation of the intricate problems appertaining to government of his own times. He was as much a creature of his times as Machiavelli and Hobbes were.

Polit'cal Doctrines

(1) CONCEPTION OF HUMAN NATURE

Coming to a crititical analysis of the political doctrines as expounded in the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari,' the essential elements of human nature are malice, greed, jealousy, wrath and evil. Man is always prompted by the desire to strive after personal aggrandisement, and constantly looks for the appeasement of his sensual self. But, Prophets and Saints form exceptions to the general rule.[1] Comparing Barni with other medieval Muslim political thinkers, Fakhr-i-Mudabbir in his 'Adab-ul-Muluk',[2] Mohammad Baqir Najm us-Sani in his 'Muizzat-i-Jahangiri'[3] and Kaiqaus in his 'Qabus Nama'[4] appear to share same reflections. Barni's description of the perverse nature of man also finds a testimony in Thomas Hobbes' 'Leviathan'.

(2) LAWS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Barni starts with the initial pre-supposition that society and state had a coterminous origin through Divine Will.[5] God, the

---

1 F. J. ff 2a, 145a.

2 Ms. f 83b.

3 Ms. f 57a and b.

4 P. 86. G. M. S.

5 F. J. ff. 242b-243a.

Almighty, inspired men with various arts and skills, for one man is helpless to satisfy his needs without the assistance of his other fellow beings. During the course of time each struggled and gradually brought his skill to the level of perfection.[1] Hence, affairs are run smoothly, when each attempts to his own occupation and does not encroach on the office of others. This emphasis on social cooperation and functional specialisation as the basic law of human society finds full support in the theories of Ibn-i-Abir Rabi,[2] Imam Ghazzali,[3] Farabi[4] and Nasir ud-din Tusi.[5] Needless to say that Plato fosters similar emphasis on social amalgamation in human society.

Depicting the various stages of the development of body-politic in the distant past, Barni's conclusions suggest that a cycle of changes was at work, and the body-politic starting as an decumenical entity splitted into several dominions headed by hereditary monarchs like Ajam, Byzantium, Egypt, India, Syria, etc.[6] The third type of polity was the Republic of Medina based on the consensus of public opinion and the essential equality of status of the ruler and the ruled. This, again, made way for the emergence of monarchical states.[7] Barni as a realist thinker has only laid down what past history furnished, and he justifies the gradual change in the character of Muslim state from a Republic into monarchies in the interests of order and stability.[8]

(3) AIM AND PURPOSE OF BODY-POLITIC

The primary purpose of the body-politic is the protection and propagation of the 'True Faith.' But, in order to accomplish this aim, it must secure the moral, social, economic and political well-being of the subjects. If a woman retires to bed

---

1 F. J. f 216 a and b.
2 *Vide* Sherwani, p. 49.
3 *Vide* Sherwani, pp. 157-8.
4 Siyasat p. 37 as quoted by Sherwani.
5 Ms. ff 177a-178a. I. O. Lib.
6 F. J. f 222b.
7 *Ibid.* ff 100a-101a.
8 *Ibid.*

hungry, it will be the ruler as the protector of his subjects, who shall be held responsible on the Day of Judgment. Other Medieval Muslim political thinkers like Mawardi,[1] Kaiqaus,[2] Ibn-i-Tiqtaqa[3] and Fazal Isphani[4] also portray their belief in state as a means to an end.

(4) GROUNDS OF POLITICAL OBLIGATION

According to Barni it is only in a world of rights that duties can be dreamt of. The sovereign is entitled to the submission, obedience and loyalty of his subjects, whereas the latter are to receive from him pardon, forgiveness, compassion, veiling of faults and protection.[5] From this reasoning we are led to deduce that obedience to rulers is conditional and Barni has even very mildly suggested in an indirect manner that resistance against unworthy rulers is permissible. He quotes anecdotes from past history showing the revolts of subjects against unjust rulers.

(5) THE NATURE AND OFFICE OF THE SOVEREIGN (ULUL AMR)

Real Sovereignty belongs and befits the Almighty alone. But, this Jahandar-i-Haqiqi has entrusted kings with the heavy responsibilities of protecting His creation. The Jahandar-i-Majazi, thus enjoys the office of rulership in the nature of a trust. In so doing his status is one of the Deputy, the Vicegerent and the Shadow of God.[6] By virtue of the singularity of his office, Ulul Amri consists of the following attributes :—

1. Permanence ;
2. Indivisibility ;
3. Inalienability ;
   and
4. All Comprehensiveness.

---

1 A. S. Urdu edi., pp. 1-2.
2 p. 11,
3 Tarikh-i-Al Fakhri.
4 S. M. ff 13a, 19a.
5 F. J. f145b.
6 F. J. ff 59b, 104a and b, 199a, etc.

Realising the need of the hour, Barni as a practical thinker has provided the latitude of overriding the 'Shar' to his earthly sovereign. 'Necessity makes things lawful, which are otherwise forbidden' is the golden rule for political action. [1] Barni also makes a distinction between *de jure* and *de facto* sovereigns.[2]

(6) ESSENTIAL QUALITIES OF AN IDEAL MUSLIM RULER

1. Manliness. 2. Eloquence. 3. Quickness of Intellect. 4. Free and noble birth. 5. Wisdom. 6. True Religious Convictions. 7. Justice. 8. Munificence.

(7) DUTIES

The scope of governmental functions is all-embracing—both what today we classify as essential and ministrant functions are to be performed by the state. In the discharge of his kingly duties, the ruler must seek counsel from the ulama-i-khalaf wa salaf and from the wazir, who is described as his *alter ego.* [3]

In conclusion, it is asserted that Barni's ideal state was based on principles of justice and virtue, where the status of full-fledged membership was extended to Sunni Muslims of noble lineage alone to the exclusion of non-Muslims, non-confirmist Muslims and men of humble origin—the latter enjoying bare means of livelihood.[4]

Once again I would request the members of the Historical Board to attend to the early editing of the extant manuscript copy of the 'Fatawa-i-Jahandari', which already being in a state of deterioration, if lost by chance, would mean an incalculable loss to our history, and would leave us without sufficient material for preparing an exhaustive discourse on early Indo-Muslim political theory. Thank you.

---

1 F. J. ff 44b, 99a, 182a, etc.
2 *Ibid*. ff 3a, 195a etc.
3 *Ibid*. f 21b.
4 *Ibid*. f 117a.

The Religious Policy of Allauddin Khilji

By

Faizan Ahmad, Mardan

The religious policy and religious ideas of Allauddin have been generally misrepresented and misunderstood. The lead in this respect was taken by Dr. Ishwari Parsad, other scholars followed in his footsteps. Allauddin has been described as the worst persecutor of Hindus who reduced them to utter penury and destitution to an extent that respectable Hindu ladies had to work as maid servants in the houses of Musalmans to earn a living. The clerical party following Barni depict him as a man who had no respect for the laws of God and for the Ulemas the self-appointed lieutenants of God on earth. He is also described to have a planned founding a new faith with himself as its prophet. Dr. Ishawari Parsad in his book 'Medieval India' has laid great emphasis on this point and has actually made Allauddin, if he was not, as a sort of the founder of a new religion. My object is to refute these views about his religious policy and religious ideas using the same source of information as has been used by Dr. Ishwari Parsad, *i.e.* Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi.*

First I shall examine his treatment of Hindus. Some people contrast his policy with that of Akbar. But there is nothing in common between the two. Akbar had definitely a Rajput or Hindu policy; Allauddin had no Hindu policy in that sense or I would say in any sense. Akbar's policy towards the Rajputs and Hindus sprang from well thought-out plan to make them bulwark of imperialism, Allauddin had no such problem. He wanted to make the Hindus and all sections of his people obedient law abiding subjects. In his opinion excess of wealth combined with local influence was the main cause of strife and rebellions. With this intention he instituted a sort of anti-

wealth drive. He himself had won the golden round from his uncle Jalaluddin with the help of the wealth obtained from Deogir. So he determined to kick down the ladder by which he had risen to power. Khuts, Choudhries and Muqqadams were leaders of Hindu rural population and they were not used to habitual obedience to their Sovereign. They enjoyed time honoured privileges and acted as middlemen between the Government and the tillers of the soil and had amassed wealth, kept armed retainers, did not heed the summons of the revenue officers. Allauddin abolished their privileges and compelled them to behave like ordinary law abiding citizens. This naturally lowered their social status, a thing which pleased the Ulemas and Ziauddin Barni triumphantly wrote about the humiliation of Hindus and Dr. Ishwari Parsad has quoted Barni word by word and on that basis has imputed an anti-Hindu policy to Allauddin. Two things should be noted in this connection (1) Allauddin withdrew the privileges of these middlemen only, and the general body of Hindus were not affected rather their lot was bettered because now the Choudhries, Muqqadams and Khuts could not put their burden of taxation on the shoulders of the farmer and (2) Allauddin's motive was not religious but political to make the class of his subjects law abiding. Ziauddin Barni while mentioning the results of Allauddin's policy in this connection writes "one revenue official would string 20 Khuts, Muqqadams and Choudhries by the neck and enforce payment by blows. Allauddin only wanted obedience to authority from this section. Humiliation of the Hindus or Hinduism was not his aim or intention, he evinced no interest in the advice of Qazi Mughisuddin about the ideal treatment with non-Muslims which the Qazi put in these words. "They (Hindus) are termed as خراج گذار; when the revenue officers demand silver from them, they should without question and with all humility and respect tender gold; if the officer throws dust in their mouths, they must without reluctance open their mouths and receive it. The due subordination of the *zimmi* is exhibited in his humble payment and by this throwing of dust in their mouth . . . God holds

them in contempt for he says "keep them under subjection. To keep the Hindus in abasement is a religious duty".

Allauddin spoke about the recalcitrance of Khuts and Muqqadams who did not pay proper respect to the imperial officers and about his policy he said, "I have therefore taken measures and have made my subjects obedient so that at my command they are ready to creep into holes like mice." Allauddin was not concerned with the Hindu in Choudhries and Muqqadams but with the potential danger to agrarian tranquillity in them. These measures form part of his general economic policy of anti-wealth drive which also adversely affected certain section of Muslim population specially the Ulemas who wielded considerable influence over the Muslim masses and enjoyed many time honoured privilege and concessions. Allauddin took measures to deprive them of all these advantages as he had done in case of Hindu landed aristocracy. He ordered that whenever there was a village held by the Ulemas as *milq*, *inam* or *waqf* it should by one stroke of pen be brought under the Exchequer. Barni writes so rigorous was the confiscation that excepting maliks and amirs and Multani Bankers no one possessed a trifle in cash. Allauddin fixed cash stipends for Ulemas so that they may not have economic advantages independent of continued royal favour, thus he made them harmless and deprived them of the means of mischief.

The most interesting part of the issue is so called plan of Allauddin to found a new religion and his attitude towards Shariat. The basis of the whole superstructure is Allauddin talk over a cup of wine which he said perhaps in a state of intoxication and which we find in the pages of Barni's *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*. Dr. Ishwar Parsad and Dr. Ishwar Tapa have made a mountain of mole-hill and all the text-books are full of Allauddin's scheme of founding a new faith. I will quote Barni in full, because these words form the basis of theories about his religion. "One success followed another, despatches of victory came in from all sides; every year he had two or three

sons born; his treasury was over flowing . . . . All this prosperity intoxicated him. In this exultation, ignorance and folly he quite lost his head forming the most extravagant and impossible schemes and nourishing the most extravagant desires. He was a man of no learning and never associated with the learned. He used to talk in his wine parties about two projects—one was about establishing a new religion. The Sultan referred to Prophet Mohammad who with the help of his four friends propagated Islam to the four corner of the world and thereby immortalized his name. He had also four friends, Nusrat Khan, Zaffar Khan, Ulugh Khan and Alap Khan with whose help he wanted to emulate Prophet Mohammad. But this is a very weak basis for such a dazzling theory. In the first place it has not been mentioned that the King talked about the scheme over wine parties; secondly the talk was confined to a selected few; thirdly the scheme was talked about only in the early part of his reign because one of the four friends of the Sultan, Zaffar Khan was killed in fight with the Moghols in 1299 *i. e.* third year of the reign; fourthly Allauddin had no passion like Akbar to know truth and discuss various religions nor he possessed a brilliant mind, nor the idea of founding a new faith was permanent with him. It was simply the result of ignorance and the whole thing grew up of the common fact between him and Prophet Mohammad of having four friends. Allauddin definitely gave up the idea and recanted is proved in the pages of *Tarikh-i-Feroz Shahi*, but has not been mentioned in any publication and this is Allauddin's reaction to the advice of Qazi Allaul Mulk who was bold enough to dissuade the Sultan from this idea in the following strong words:

> "Religion and law and creeds ought never to be made subjects of discussion by Your Majesty for they are the concerns of Prophet not the business of kings. Religion and law sprang from heavenly revelation, they are never established by the plans and designs of men . . . . My advice is that Your Majesty should never talk about these matters."

Reaction of the Sultan to this bold advice is described in these words by Barani. "The Sultan listened and hung down his head in thought. His four friends heartily approved what Allaul Mulk had said and looked anxiously for the Sultan's answer. After a while the Sultan said, "from henceforth no one shall ever hear me speak such words. Blessings be on thee and thy parents for thou hast spoken the truth and been loyal to thy duty." Next Sultan spoke about his scheme of world conquest and the Qazi gave his opinion in favour of conquest within India and at the same time again boldly said, "whatever I have recommended can never be accomplished unless Your Majesty gives up drinking to excess and keeps aloof from convivial parties and feasts." Subsequent history shows that Allauddin followed the advice of Qazi to the letter, wine was prohibited; he himself gave it up and forced the prohibition on nobles; convivial parties and feasts were also forbidden. No wonder that foolish utterances about religion were also given up and after this incident Allaudin never spoke of the scheme.

Allauddin was a man of firm determination and a man of action. If he would have been serious about establishing a new faith, he would not have given up the idea after a mere lecture of Qazi Allaul Mulk. So the conclusion that we can draw from all this is that Allauddin being an unlettered person might have unwarily given expression to a desire to immortalize his name like Prophet Mohammad, but when cautioned that the idea was absurd, he readily and at once gave it up. On the basis of these facts I make bold to say that all the theories about his founding a new faith are fantastic and cannot stand analysis of facts. If there was such a scheme at all, it died in the embryo before it could get any shape or form. Allauddin's desire to win glory in the spiritual sphere cooled down to an extent that he did not even grasp at the practicable and possible idea of declaring himself the Commander of the Faithful . . . Baghdad was sacked, the Caliph was no more, there was vacuum of temporal and spiritual power and Allauddin in the capacity of the most powerful Musalman King at the

time and the most successful warrior against the Moghals could assume caliphate but he showed no interest in the matter, he had realised religion was not the field for the display of his talents.

Agreement of 1857 with Amir Dost Muhammad Khan

By

Z. H. Zaidi, Lahore

By the treaty of 1855,[1] concluded between the Govt. of India and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul, the Govt. of India committed itself to nothing which a cautious policy would require it to avoid. By the first article of the Treaty, formal renewal of friendly relations with the Amir of Kabul was declared. The second article of the Treaty was designed to remove "Amir's apprehensions of aggression or interference" on the part of the Govt. of India. The Treaty did not contain a word involving the Govt. of India in helping and supporting the Amir in his aggressive designs against other states. The Govt. of India did not even "bind itself never to depute a representative to the Amir" and deliberately, nothing was mentioned in the articles of the Treaty about not having a British cantonment in Kabul. The third article of the Treaty was intelligently worded as the Govt. of India was prepared "under no circumstances" to enter into a defensive and offensive agreement with the Amir of Kabul "as the sole effect of such an instrument would be to involve the Govt. of India in the disputes and hostilities of the various states which lie beyond its western frontier." The Govt. of India was not to give any guarantee to help the Amir against Persia as the Govt. of England had already entered into a treaty with the Govt. of Persia as a result of which the territory of Herat was to remain independent of Persian rule.

---

1 A paper on the "Negotiations between Dost Muhammad Khan, Amir of Kabul and the British Government leading to the Treaty of 1855 was submitted by the author at the Pakistan History Conference held in 1956 at Karachi.

John Lawrence, the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, refused to insert anything in the Treaty regarding the interest of Herat. Only two alterations in the original draft of the Treaty were made, one designing the Amir as 'Walee' and the other restricting the scope of the Treaty only to the 'heirs' and not to the 'heirs and successors' of the Amir. [1]

For exchanging the ratified copies of the Treaty, a British mission comprising of Khan Bahadur Fatehullah Khan (who was formerly in the Amir's service but had joined the British Govt. later on) a Nazir and six horsemen, was sent to Kabul. The Mission was asked to be vigilant and to report to the Govt. of India about important affairs in Afghanistan. The Mission was not to indulge in any court party or intrigue.[2]

In August 1855, Sardar Kohandil Khan, the Chief of Kandhar, died. The Chief's son, Muhammad Saddik Khan, offended his uncle Sardar Rahmdil Khan by seizing the property and valuables of the deceased. Thereupon Sardar Rahmdil Khan invited Dost Muhammad to come to Kandhar and to assert his influence in settling the dispute.

At the same time Sardar Sayid Muhammed Khan, the ruler of Herat, was deposed by Shahzada Muhammad Yusuf, a Persian Protege. It was generally rumoured that the Persians had attacked Herat and had placed Muhammad Yusuf Khan on the throne of Herat. The question which concerned the British was the extent of help given by the Persians to instal Muhammad Yusuf.

The following versions were received by the Govt. of India in regard to the capture of Herat at the hands of Muhammad Yusuf Khan:

1. Amir of Kabul's version, *vide* his letter dated 6th January addressed to the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

---

1 Letters Nos. 41, 42, dated 31st March, 1855.

2 Letters Nos. 10, 11, dated 5th March, 1856.

2. The account given by Murray, British representative at Tehran, *vide* his letter, dated 28th September, 1855.

3. The account given by Muhammad Alam Khan, a nephew of the Amir of Kabul, who had served with Major Edwardes, the Commissioner of Peshawar Division.

The first account, that of the Amir of Kabul, fixed the entire responsibility on the Persians who were alleged to have given active support to Muhammed Yusuf Khan. It was pointed out by the Amir that Muhammad Yusuf Khan had been in the service of the Persian government and had been invested with a title after his capture of Herat. It was also alleged by the Amir that Muhammad Yusuf Khan did not cause the 'khutba' to be read in his name as he wanted to show to the Government of Persia that he was their vassal.

2. Murray wrote that the ruler of Herat, Saiyid Muhammad Khan, had led an expedition against Hazara tribes and, in his absence, the people of Herat invited Yusuf Khan to take over the government. The people, later on, imprisoned Saiyid Muhammad Khan and offered the Government to Muhammad Yusuf Khan who thus became the ruler of Herat. After Yusuf Khan's departure for Herat the Persian authorities had sent troops to capture Yusuf Khan who escaped them. Once Yusuf Khan had established his rule, the Persian Govt. did not deem it advisable to oppose him hoping to make Herat a Persian dependency in the future.

3. Muhammad Alam Khan reported that Saiyid Muhammad Khan had gone mad. Some leading men of Herat led by Mullah Yusuf Khan of Hazara who bore old enemity against the ruler invited Shahzada Yusuf Khan to take over Herat, who successfully got possession of it.

The account of the Amir of Kabul cannot be taken at its face value as he was keen to have Herat for himself and tried to convince the Govt. of India that Herat had been captured by Shahzada

Muhammad Yusuf Khan with the active help of the Persians. The main object of the Amir was to prove to the Govt. of India that the Persians had violated the Treaty of 1853 by interfering in the affairs of Herat so that the relations between Persians and British government might become strained and in that event the British might help the Amir to annex Herat.

As the Govt. of India received varying reports about the capture of Herat, the Chief Commissioner was directed by the Governor General to be cautious in his correspondence with the Amir and not to commit himself on the subject. Though Major Edwardes was of the view that Muhammad Yusuf Khan had obtained Herat by Persian support[1] and that the Amir was in a critical position as "the Persians, had made themselves masters of the whole Western frontier of Afghanistan."[2] He, therefore, recommended that the "Amir of Kabul be encouraged to regard us as his real friends, by receiving from the Govt. of india as strong and cordial expression of sympathy and wishes for his success in strengthening his power as can be given."[3]

The Chief Commissioner of the Punjab and the Commissioner of Peshawar while recommending the Govt. of India to help the Amir had not carefully examined the reports which they received through the Amir who was an interested party and who had tried to put the responsibility of the capture of Herat on the Persians and therefore, the Governor General did not accept the recommendations for helping the Amir. The Amir made all possible efforts to elicit help from the Govt. of India who made one pretext after the other in order not to commit itself to the Amir. The Amir was in want of money to carry on military operations against Herat. This was also reported by Khan Bahadur Fatehullah Khan (when he was about to return with the ratified copies of the Treaty of 1855) who further added that "Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan (heir-

---

1 Letter No. 24 C, dated Nov. 9 1855.

2 Letter No. C 214, dated Oct. 19, 1855.

3 Letter No. C 41, dated Nov. 9, 1855.

apparent of the Amir) had pointed out to him that the British Govt. was giving arms to Kokans who could not use them and expressed the desire that the same be given to them." The Sardar according to Fatehullah Khan said, that "he (the Sardar) was like a weapon in the hands of the English and weapons should be made ready befor the battle began. It is of no use to give the horse corn just as he gets to the foot of a hill."[1]

On the invitation of Sardar Kohindil Khan, the Chief of Kandhar, the Amir of Kabul assumed sovereignty of Kandhar[2]. The position of the Amir at Kandhar after his arrival there, was critical as dissensions between the Amir and Sardar Kohindil Khan started. Kohindil Khan urged upon the Amir that he had invited him to settle the dispute between him and his nephews and so Kandhar be restored to Kohindil Khan. The Amir refused and was finally able to overcome the difficulties which confronted him in Kandhar by forcing Sardar Kohindil Khan to relinquish his claims on Kandhar in lieu of an allowance of Rs. 306,000 to be given to him by the Amir.[3] It may be mentioned here that the Amir's position in Kandhar was not very stable. On the other hand he entertained the designs of leading an expedition against Herat. Under the circumstances the Amir sought the advice and help of the Government of India which adopted a rather indifferent attitude till the time she was not in the know of exact facts.

Meanwhile the affairs at Herat had changed. The Persian army advanced on Herat. The following accounts in regard to the advance of the Persian troops on Herat are given:

1. Edinburgh Review.
2. The Amir's account of the advance of Persian Army based on the letter received by him from Shahzada Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

---

1 Letter No. 37, dated June, 1856.

2 Letter Not. 12 A, dated Jan.5, 1857.

3 *Ibid.*

3. The Amir's account of the advance of the Persian Army based on the letter received by him from Isa Khan, the Deputy of Muhammad Yusuf Khan.

1. Yusuf Khan was threatened by an invasion from the Amir and Herat was in a rebellious state. Thinking that the ground was slipping away under his feet, he applied for Persian help. The people of Herat opposed the occupation of Herat by Persian troops which were expelled from the place. To compromise his own position, Yusuf Khan hoisted the British flag and invited the Amir to come to his help.

2. In his letter to the Amir, Muhammad Yusuf Khan admitted that he invited the Persian intervention and aid because he dreaded the Amir's advance of Herat. The Persian troops were sent to Jam where they remained for some time and began to harras the people of Herat. It was winter and so the possibility of Amir's attack was remote. The Persian government under these circumstances, was requested by Yusuf Khan to withdraw from Jam. Finding the Persians adamant, Yusuf Khan hoisted the British flag and asked the Amir for help.

The Amir after receiving the letter from Muhammad Yusuf Khan sought for the advice of the Govt. of India. The Governor-General Lord Canning, repudiated the fact that any British flag had been hoisted by Yusuf Khan at Herat. The Amir was told that the Govt. of India had to seek advice from the home government as to their future course of action.[1]

3. The Persian army had evacuated Herat, and soon after, dissensions between Yusuf Khan and his Deputy Isa Khan started at Herat. As a result of the quarrel between the two, Isa Khan imprisoned Yusuf Khan and sent him towards the Persian Camp. Yusuf Khan was intimidated to make him come to terms with Isa Khan, in the failure of which, Isa Khan was determined to call the Amir to his help. Meanwhile the Persians on the instiga-

1. Letter No. 21, dated May 16, 1856.

tion of Yusuf Khan laid seige to Herat. The Amir was requested by Isa Khan to come to Herat.

The Amir wrote to the British authorities that "the very existance of Afghan power was at stake; for after the fall of Herat, the Persians would come on to Kandhar. It would be too late to find out the truth of the Amir when he arrived at Peshawar a fugitive."[1] The Amir had more than 12,000 paid soldiers available to move against Herat. The Persian army consisted of 16,000 which could have been doubled. The Amir could also double his own numbers in a month, if he had money. "Everything is paralysed by want of money."[2]

The Amir's army was in distress. Its condition was described by Fatehullah Khan in the following words:—"The distress of the army is real and obvious. The soldiers are constantly engaged in plundering both the citizens and the farmers. A Kandhari is like a field of ripe 'bajra' and the citizens on the roof of their houses like bird scarers in their 'machan' are day and night crying "Ha, Ha, to scare away the flock of plunderers."[3] Lt.-Col. Edwardes (by now he was promoted to the rank of Lt.-Col.) wrote to the Govt. "It is undeniable that the Amir and his army have got into a strait, and that all hopes are directed to the English to get them out. It seems the general opinion that if help were accorded to him at all, by the British Government, the Amir would rather have money not troops." [4]

While the Amir was still in Kandhar awaiting for the advice of the Govt. of India, the Balkh frontier was threatened by the armies of the King of Bokhara. The Amir was not in a position to carry on the expedition against Herat without adequate help from the British. The salaries of the troops stationed in Kandhar had not been paid by the Amir and the condition of the army

---

1 Lette. No. 293 C, dated Aug. 28, 1856.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 *Ibid.*

which did not have enough provisions to last them long was wretched. The season when either a Persian army would advance on Kandhar or an Afghan army on Herat has passed. The Amir had to make arrangements for the payment of his troops by the system of 'barats' or assignment by which the army was to realise the barat.[1] The Amir therefore, left Kandhar on 14-15th September, 1856, for Kabul leaving the heir-apparent Sardar Ghulam Hyder Khan incharge of Kandhar.[2] The departure of the Amir created a misunderstanding for the Govt. of India which thought that the Amir might have come to terms with the Persian government. The Amir gave his own reasons for the departure saying that he wanted to be at hand to consult the British authorities.[3]

On his return journey to Kabul, the Amir received an envoy from the Persian ruler who brought letters and messages of friendship to the Amir.[4] At the same time the Governor General communicated to the Amir the desire of the British Government to help him. The Amir purposely acknowledged the receipt of the despatch of the Government of India promising him help, late, because Edwardes thought that the "Amir gains the credit of having rejected the Shah's overtures even before he knew he could be supported."[5] Being sure of the British help, the Amir dismissed the envoy. According to Edwardes, the Amir dismissed the Persian envoy after he had received the Governor-General's letter.[6]

"The Government of India acting under instructions of the home authorities decided to assist the Amir with arms and money to relieve Herat from the attack of Persia."[7] The Bombay

---

1 Letter No. A. dated Oct. 4, 1856.
2 Letter No. Nos. 34-35. dated Nov. 8, 1857.
3 Letter No. B. dated Oct. 5, 1856.
4 The Amirs letter to Edwardes dated Sept. 26. 1857.
5 Letter No. B, Oct. 1856.
6 *Ibid.*
7 *Ibid.* No. 32, 56.

government was requested to despatch 4,000 flint muskets, together with gun flints, bayonets, etc., and 200 rounds of ammunition for each musket, to the Chief Commissioner who was to convey them to the frontier.[1] An amount to the tune of Rs. 500,000 was to be paid to the Amir.[2] Out of Rs. 500,000, rupees two lacs were to be transmitted from Peshawar, rupees one lac from Shikarpur and another rupees two lacs from Lahore or Amritsar treasuries.[3] The arms and ammunition were to get through the Bolan Pass towards Kandhar.[4] Since time was a great factor, it was decided that the arms and ammunition should be sent to Sukhar from where Col. Jacob was to arrange for their conveyance.[5] Out of five lacs sanctioned for the Amir two lacs were transmitted at once. The Amir wanted the remaining cash and muskets to be sent direct to Shahkot.[6]

In August, 1856, two envoys from Isa Khan, the ruler of Herat reached Peshawar to enlist the the support of the Govt. of India. Isa Khan was prepared to deliver over Herat to the British as he could not hold it for long against the Persians. It was decided by the Government of India to help Isa Khan with two lacs of rupees to enable him to resist the Persians. It seems that the Government of India was confronted with monetary difficulties in the frontier as only one lac could be arranged by the then Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar. The second according to him 'was not practicable as the bankers refuse even at 8%.[7] The money was smuggled up in bales of cloth, indigo and other articles of commerce to avoid suspicion. It was done because, according to the Deputy Commissioner of Peshawar,

---

1 Letter No. 32, Aug. 1856.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Letter No. 709, Murree, dated Sept. 1, 1856.

4 Letter No. 39, dated Sept. 5, 1856.

5 Letter No. 38, dated Sept. 1856 (F.D. Secret).

6 Letter No. 77, dated Oct. 29, 1856.

7 F.D No. 774, dated Oct. 15, 1856.

"the mountainers especially the Afridis sit on the roads and talk openly about the coming 'Kafilas' of Co.'s treasure."[1] A native by the name of Mubarak was employed to accompany the envoys back to Herat to transmit the money (10 forms of notes for 10,000 signed by Sir John Lawrence to be raised in Herat were also to be sent besides one lac cash). Mubarak fell ill and so considerable delay was caused in transmitting the money. Before Mubarak could reach Kabul, Isa Khan had already surrendered to the Persians. [2]

The Government of India did not only promise to help the Amir with money and ammunition but also told him that in case the Persian troops were not withdrawn by the Shah, 'the British Government's force in readiness at Bombay would proceed to Persian Gulf for exacting submission to the demands in question."[3] The Amir expressed the desire of sending a confidential agent to confer with the Government of India on the affairs involving him.[4] Later on he made overtures to the Governor General to have an interview with the British authorities.[5] Edwardes favoured the idea of an interview but Sir John Lawrence differed with him on this point. The Governor General approved the idea of meeting the Amir to clear various things. He thought that "the British Government should not be brought into relation with the troops or with the officers, and that it should not become directly responsible for their pay" (as the Amir had requested that his troops should be mustered and paid by the British Government). The Government of India was prepared to subsidize the Amir to the extent of 25 lacs per annum on specific conditions, one of which was to be that "all payments shall cease in the event of Herat falling into the hands of Persia."[6]

---

1 *Ibid.*
2 Letter No. 643, dated Dec. 20, 1856.
3 Governor General's Despatch to the Amir, dated Sept. 23, 1856.
4 Letter No. B, dated Oct. 5, 1856.
5 Letter No. 923, dated Nov. 29, 1856.
6 *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, Herat had already surrendered to Persia and according to the condition mentioned above, the subsidy to the Amir was to cease. The Governor General however, decided that the subsidy should be given if the Amir was prepared to enter into an engagement. Under the circumstances the Government of India thought it necessary to have a clear exposition of the Amir's views and intentions.[1] The Amir, was therefore, invited to come for a conference with the British authorities to be held in the vicinity of Peshawar.

The Amir left for Peshawar on December 7, 1856, and reached Jamrud accompanied by two of his sons, Muhammad Azim Khan and Muhammad Hussain and a few advisers.[2] Those who represented the Govt. of India were the Chief Commissioner of the Punjab, the Commissioner of Peshawar Division, and Major Harry Lumsden.[3] The Conference between the two authorities started on Jan. 5, 1857. At the first meeting held on Jan. 5, 1857, the Amir said that his relations with Persia in the beginning were cordial but as the result of the Treaty of 1855 with the Govt. of India, Persia was annoyed and instigated and helped Muhammad Yusuf Khan to capture Herat. After the Amir's assumption of the Sovereignty of Kandhar, Yusuf Khan and Isa Khan, fearing an invasion by the Amir on Herat, invited Persian active help. The Amir sought for British advice and support. But this was not forthcoming. He had to leave Kandhar for Kabul though he could have captured Herat had he been given aid at that time. The Amir reiterated to remain a friend of the British against all odds and opposition.

The Chief Commissioner explained that the "British Govt. could not and at any rate, would not, attempt directly the recovery of Herat but would no doubt aid the Amir so for as appeared expedient, if he would explain his policy,"[4]

---

1 Lawrence's letter to the Amir, dated Dec. 29, 1856.

2 Letter No. III, dated Dec. 9, 1856.

3 Letter No. 12 A, dated Jan. 5, 1857.

4 *Ibid.*

The Amir suggested that a diversion in the Persian Gulf be made so that the reinforcements of Persian troops be stopped. He was then in a position to invest Herat with his troops. "With your money and your guns", said the Amir, "I will mine the walls of Herat, blow up its towers and take the place at the point of the sword."[1] The Amir was reminded by the Chief Commissioner that he had many enemies who would join the Persians against him. When asked to tell about his means and the assistance he would require from the Govt. of India, the Amir asked for one day's leave to deliberate.

During the course of conference, the Amir tried to emphasize the fact that "the Shah of Persia had acted throughout under Russian guidance, and on the assurance of Russian help,"[2] otherwise Persia would not have left England (as they were bound by the Treaty of 1853). When the conference was on, the Chief Commissioner received a confidential telegraphic message to the effect that "Persia shall not only withdraw her troops from Herat but renounce her pretensions to interfere with Afghanistan."[3] This was however not disclosed to the Amir.

After two days, on January 7, 1857, the second conference took place with the Amir and his councillors. The Amir told the Chief Commissioner that he had an available force of nearly 34,000 men and 61 guns. It was necessary to raise it to 50,000 men and 100 guns to attack Herat. The Amir said: "If you say take more troops, I will take more, if you say less will suffice, I will take less. I have given you my opinion but you 'sahibs', know Persia best."[4] The Chief Commissioner pointed out that the leaving of the capital, in the event of an attack on Herat by the Amir, would be full of dangers for the Amir because of dissensions among the Afghans, the Amir expressed the hope that "all parties would unite against the Persians."[5]

1 Letter No. 12 A, dated Jan. 5, 1857.

2 *Ibid.*

3 *Ibid.*

4 Letter No. 23 A, dated Jan, 1857.

5 *Ibid.*

Then the Amir was asked about the proposed time of the expedition against Herat, which according to the Amir could commence after about two months as at that time the supplies would be procurable. The Chief Commissioner was of the opinion that the "Amir and his people who have come down, appear to have nothing but a few good horses among them. They are badly formed and ill-equipped . . . . The Afghan soldiers appear to have no luxuries, even the Amir dresses himself with coarse camel hair cloth of the country."[1] When asked about the assistance required from the Govt. of India the Amir said that the expenses of his troops should be calculated. He was told that it was for him to do so and the Government did not want to enter into "long details." The Amir was told that in case the Government decided to send British officers to assist him, "such officers would exercise no authority, nor any command" and "were to give advice when required and to obtain all the information which our Government might require, for which the Amir would be bound to afford every facility."[2] To this the Amir assented.

When the Amir asked about the advice of the British Government in regard to Bokhara's affairs, he was told that the Government of India had no desire to interfere and it was for the Amir to choose the course of action. As regards the amount of assistance required by the Amir, he told that he would send his men next day to give the details.

On January 8, 1857, Sardar Azim Khan, Usman Khan, Hafiz Ji and the Amir's Chief Secretary met the Chief Commissioner and told him that the Amir would require Rs. 63,58,710, as assistance from the British Government to recover Herat. The Sardars had made the above estimate fixing the salary of horsemen at Rs. 20 p.m. and that of a foot soldier Rs. 8 p.m. It was double the actual salary being paid to them. When questioned by the Chief Commissioner, they felt embarrassed and

---

1 Letter No. 23-A, dated Jan. 1857.

2 *Ibid.*

explained that it was done because the army was in a state of semi-starvation.[1]

The Sardars were told that there were two courses for the Afghans to follow, one to recover Herat and the other to strengthen themselves at the Farrah border. They were further asked to give an estimate of the subsidy to be required for strengthening their frontier. They were to deliver the estimate next day.

On January 9, 1857, Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan with other Chiefs met the Chief Commissioner and stated that "whether the intention was to attack Herat, or simply to raise the population and harass the Persians, the expense of a movement on the necessary scales would be nearly the same."[2] In case no expedition was recarried out against Herat and the Afghans were "to confine their exertions to a defence of the present possessions," the Amir would require, "4000 more stand of arms with necessary ammunition for such aid in money as the British Government was prepared to render." He added that "they should like to have the means of raising and maintaining 8,000 additional Infantry, 4,000 for Kandhar and an equal number for Bulkh, that the arms lately received would cover them at the former place and those now asked for will be for the infantry at Bulkh."[3]

After the discussions with the Sardars, the Chief Commissioner wrote to the Governor General that the Afghans even if supplied with all the assistance asked for could not operate effectively against Herat, whereas Edwardes maintained that they could. However, it was questionable in the opinion of both the officers to afford the assistance asked for by the Amir, for a 'doubtful result'. It was therefore, recommended to the Governor General by the two officers that it was advisable to strengthen the

1 Letter No. 24A, dated Jan. 8, 1857.

2 Letter No. 26A, dated Jan. 9, 1857.

3 *Ibid.*

Afghans at home and that "a subsidy of 12 lacs per annum to commence from the 1st day of this year, and to be paid monthly, so long as the war may last, and the government is satisfied with the conduct of the Amir, will suffice."[1] In that case it was for the Amir to arrange for the transport of the treasure from Peshawar. It was also recommended that the amount of five lacs already transmitted to him be regarded as a gift, and that an advance of rupees three lacs be made at once. It was proposed that "two military officers and one medical man at Kabul, and the same number at Kandhar with a suitable native establishment"[2] be maintained so as to furnish the Government with the correct information as regards the state of affairs in Afghanistan.

On receipt of the Chief Commissioner's report the Governor General decided that the prospects of the siege of Herat did not appear to be bright and the Government of India was to subsidise the Amir with 4,000 muskets and money to pay 8,000 infantry with whose help the Afghans could defend their present possessions.

The Chief Commissioner and the Commissioner of Peshawar visited the Amir and told him that the Government were not prepared to help him "to the extent which had been required for an expedition to Herat but were willing to grant a subsidy of 12 lacs per annum, on certain conditions." The Amir accepted the aid without any hesitation. The conditions of the subsidy were then explained to the Amir. Some difficulty arose on the question of posting the British officers at Kabul about which the Amir said that he had accepted this condition in his previous meeting, subject to the aid the British Government would render to him to recover Herat and since the Government were not rendering him help for the expedition to Herat, the condition did not seem to be reasonable. The Amir was told that the subsidy could only be granted if the Amir was prepared to accept that condition. The Amir, however, agreed and it was decided that the proposed agreement be drafted. The reason for the

---

1 Letter No. 26 A, dated Jan 9, 1857.

2 Ibid.

Amir's acceptance of the condition was probably that "the Amir though fully aware that the presence of English officers would compromise him with the bigoted party of his countrymen, considered that sacrifice well worth making to obtain the large pecuniary aid in his hour of need.[1]

It was later, suggested by the Sardars that it would be more advisable to have the British officers at Kandhar and a native 'vakil' at Kabul. They were told that their suggestion would be considered and, if possible, the condition, modified. The Draft of the Agreement (*vide* Appendix A) was then presented at the Conference.

On the morning of January 16, 1857, Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan with other Chiefs visited the Chief Commissioner to submit modifications, in the Draft of the Articles of Agreement. They suggested that the British officers should be deputed at Kandhar and not at Kabul, as the Afghan general could get good advice from them and that it would make the Persians feel that the English were wholeheartedly supporting the Afghans. While with the presence of the British officers at Kabul, the common people would be antogonised and would feel that "the old days of Shah Shuja were come again." The Chief Commissioner saw some force in the argument and said that it might be done, nevertheless it was necessary "to provide in the Agreement full discretion to send British officers to any point where their presence might be required," even to Balkh. The fourth article was left as originally drafted.

As regards the third article the Amir agreed to convey the subsidies by the Arturrah route through Saadat Khan Mohmund's country and not by the Khyber Pass.

The Sardars did not seem to agree with the clause in Article 6 by which "the continuance of the subsidy was not left dependent on the Persian war but on the will and pleasure of the Governor

---

[1] Letters No. 33-46, dated Jan. 15, 1857.

General of India." They suggested a modification to the effect that "the subsidy should cease at any time when the British Government might be dissatisfied with the Amir." The Chief Commissioner thought that since the "Afghans are naturally a fickle people difficult to control and we cannot keep them too much within our power as regards the subsidy," he could not agree to the modification.

In a clause of article 7, it was inserted that the 'Vakil' to be left at Kabul permanently after the withdrawal of the British Officers now deputed, "was not to be a European."

The Sardars vehemently urged that the Treaty of 30th March, 1855, should be made offensive and defensive by inserting in the clause of article II of the present Agreement that "the British Government engages to be the friend of Amir's friends and enemy of his enemies." They suggested that England and Afghanistan should make common cause against Persia and Russia. To this proposal it was replied that "such treaties, though theoretically just, were practically more one-sided than the Treaty of Peshawar, because they are elastic to Asiatic sovereigns but bonds of iron to Europeans. The suggestion of Hafiz Ji to the effect that the, words 'naslan bad naslan' meaning generation after generation, be added to the A rcement was not accepted.

Two additional articles were added to the Draft, *i.e.*, No. 12 to the effect that the forgiveness of the British Government was not confined to the past offences of the Amir but extended to those of all his tribes." Article No. 13 promised to give 4,000 more muskets to the Amir. During the course of discussion, Sardar Muhammad Azim Khan put a question to the Chief Commissioner, "whether the Afghans would be included in the Peace with Persia or be left in the lurch." He was given an understanding that in the event of British Peace with the Persians, the "Shah would be bound to make peace with the Amir and resign all pretentions to the Amir's possessions."[1] This was not included

---

1 Letter No. 50A, dated Jan, 16, 1857.

in the Articles of Agreement. The articles after modifications were sent to the Amir for 'final concurrence.'

The Articles of Agreement between the Government of India and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan were then sent to Calcutta for approval of the Government and the conference was broken up. During the intervening period discussion continued between the parties.

On January 17, 1857, Sardar Azim Khan accompanied by the Chief Secretary of the Amir visited the Chief Commissioner. The Sardar evinced a dislike to having British officers at Kabul and suggested that the officers for Kandhar would proceed by the Bolan Pass and not accompany the Amir. The controversy "only ended by plainly placing before the Sardar the alternative of either accepting our terms or returning without money."[1] The Sardar felt embarrassed and explained the wishes of the Amir in regard to the question stating four alternatives, that (1) the British officers should only go to Kandhar by Bolan Pass, (2) if the Bolan Pass was not agreeable, the officers should wait and proceed on 'Nauroz' (21st March) by Kohat and Koorum to Kandhar, (3) if the Government of India wished, the officers could accompany the Amir to Jalalabad and Kabul and go to Kandhar whenever the road was open and lastly that if the Governor General insisted, officers could go with the Amir and be stationed at Kabul. Thereupon the Chief Commissioner declared his opinion that "it would never do for our officers to be smuggled into the country by a backway like the Bolan; that if the Amir was not ashamed of his alliance, he would take our representative along with him in the face of his people . . . and that they must be free to go and come as they liked, and see and hear openly what they could. If this could not be done, it would be better to break off the negotiations."[2] The Sardar under the oft repeated threat left it to the officers to choose any way they liked. The Chief Commissioner recommended to the Governor General that

1 Letter No. 50B, dated Jan. 17, 1857.

2 *Ibid.*

the Kabul route should be adopted so that the officers might see something of the country and affairs at the capital.

On January 18, Major Lumsen (who had previously visited the Afghan Camp) reported that the Amir had protested to him against the sending of the British officers to Kabul in his company because "the common people judged by their eyes, and if they saw the Amir return to Kabul with English gold in one hand and English officers in the other, they would draw the inference that the country had been sold."[1] The controversy over deputing the British officers brought about a division in the Amir's camp and two parties were formed, one advocating the deputation of British officers at Kabul and the other including the Amir opposing it. When the Sikh Sardar Nihal Singh (who was sent with fresh supplies) saw the Amir, the later wept before him and said, "See these coarse garments," opening his waist, "how old and patched they are. Are these the proper robes for a ruling Prince? The shawl around my head is the sole piece of finery I possess. I have no money whatever, my sons and my chiefs take everything I have. They leave me nothing, and they tear me into dissensions. I live from hand to mouth among them a life of expedients, and I wish to Heaven that I could turn *faqueer* and escape from this weary lot."[2] When all this was reported to the Chief Commissioner, he communicated to the Amir his decision about not deputing any British officers at Kabul and that the officers for Kandhar would not pass through Kabul, but through Koorum and Ghuznee.[3] Ghulam Sarwar Khan (a pensioner of the British Government) was recommended to accompany the British officers.

The Governor General (with a few modifications approved the Articles of the Agreement and directed the Chief Commissioner to ascertain from the Amir "whether they be any chief, not a relation or follower of Amir's, in whose hand the Amir

---

1 Letter No 59A, dated Jan. 20, 1857.

2 Letter No. 46, dated Feb. 27, 1857.

3 *Ibid.*

would be content to see Herat, when recovered from Persia."[1] When asked, the Amir desired that Herat should be made over to him as he was of the opinion that "no chief of Herat or of the adjoining country possessed the power to hold the place independent of the Persian or Kabul Governments."[2]

The Agreement as modified by the Governor General was signed by the Amir on January 26, 1857. The Amir after the conclusion of the conference returned to Kabul. Expressing his satisfaction at the Agreement, the Governor General wrote, "The provisions, are, I think, sound in policy, liberal and simple. They show that whilst we desire to assist and assure the Afghans against agression from the west, we are not seeking a pretence for sending a single British bayonet across their eastern frontier, and that in return for our assistance we do not even ask for a voice in their councils, or for the smallest right of interference in their internal affairs. If anything can persuade an Afghan that we are not for ever casting covetous eyes upon his country, and that all we desire is that it should be governed peacefully after its own fashion, he ought to believe it now. But the mistrust of us in Afghanistan is wide and deep-seated; we shall overcome it only by slow degrees . . . . . A more immediate gain consists in the check which the engagement will give to any further encroachments by Persia on the Afghan frontier, and that the means provided will be sufficient for this purpose."[3]

---

1 Letter No. 50B, dated Jan. 17, 1857

3 Letter No. 68 A' dated Jan, 24, 1857.

+ Copy of the Agreement, see Appendix B.

3 Minute by the Right Hon'ble the Governor General of India, dated 6th Feb. 1857, signed by Canning.

APPENDIX B

Articles of Agreement made, at Peshawar, on the 26th January, 1857 (corresponding with Jamadi-ul-awwal, A. H. 1273), between Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, Ruler of Kabul and of those countries of Afghanistan now in his possession, on his own part and Sir John Lawrence, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner of the Panjab, and Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Edwardes, C.B. Commissioner of the Peshawar, on the part of the Hon'ble East India Company, under the authority of the Right Honourable Charles John Viscount Canning, Governor General of India in Council :—

1. Whereas the Shah of Persia, contrary to his engagements with the British Government, has taken possession of Herat, and has manifested an intention to interfere in the present possession of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, and there is now war between the British and Persian Government; therefore, the Hon'ble East India Company to aid Amir Dost Muhammad Khan to defend and maintain his present possessions in Balkh, Kabul and Kandhar against Persia, hereby agrees out of friendship, to give the said Amir one lakh of Company's rupees monthly during the war with Persia, on the following conditions :—
2. The Amir shall keep his present number of cavalry and artillery, and shall maintain not less than 18,000 infantry, of which 13,000 shall be regulars, divided into 13 regiments.
3. The Amir is to make his own arrangements for receiving the money at the British treasuries, and conveying it through his own country.
4. British officers, with suitable native establishments and orderlies, shall be deputed, at the pleasure of the

British Government, to Kabul or Kandhar, or Balkh or all three places, or wherever an Afghan army be assembled to act against the Persians. It will be their duty to see generally that the subsidy granted to the Amir be devoted to the military purposes for which it is given, and to keep their own Government informed of all affairs. They will have nothing to do with the payment of the troops, or advising the Kabul Government; and they will not interfere in any way in the internal administration of the country. The Amir will be responsible for their safety, and honourable treatment, while in his country; for keeping them acquainted with all military and political matters connected with the war.

5. The Amir of Kabul shall appoint and maintain a vakil at Peshawar.

6. The subsidy of one lakh per mensem shall cease from the date on which peace is made between the British and Persian Government; or, at any previous time, at the will and pleasure of the Governor General of India.

7. Whenever the subsidy shall cease, the British officers shall be withdrawn from the Amir's country; but, at the pleasure of the British Government, a vakil not a European officer, shall remain at Kabul, on the part of the British Government; and one at Peshawar on the part of the Government of Kabul.

8. The Amir shall furnish a sufficient escort for the British officers from the British border when going to the Amir's country; and to the British border when returning.

9. The subsidy shall commence from 1st January, 1857, and be payable at the British treasury, one month in arrears.

10. The five lakhs of rupees which have been already sent to the Amir (three to Kandhar and two to Kabul) will not be counted in this agreement. They are a free and a separate gift from the Hon'ble East India Company; but the sixth lakh, now in the hands of the mahajans of Kabul, which was sent for another purpose will be one of the instalments under this agreement.

11. This agreement in no way supersedes the Treaty made at Peshawar on 30th March, 1855 (corresponding with the 11th of Rajjab 1271), by which the Amir of Kabul engaged to be the friend of the friends and enemy of the enemies of the Hon'ble East India Company; and the Amir of Kabul, in the spirit of that Treaty, agrees to communicate to the British Government any overtures he may receive from Persia, during the war, or while there is friendship between the Kabul or British Governments.

12. In consideration of the friendship existing between the British Government and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, the British Government engages to overlook the past hostilities of all the tribes of Afghanistan, and on no account to visit them with punishment.

13. Whereas the Amir has expressed a wish to have 4,000 muskets given him in addition to the 4,000 already given it is agreed that 4,000 muskets shall be sent by the British Government to Tall; whence the Amir's people will convey them with their own carriage.

(Sd.) J. LAWRENCE,
Chief Commissioner of the Punjab.

(Sd.) Herbert B. Edwardes,
Commissioner of Peshawar Division.

The Folk-Songs of Lalan Shah

By

M. Mansooruddin, Dacca

The name of Lalan Shah is well-known in two Bengals. He was born in 1774 A.D. and died on the 17th October, Friday at 5 a. m. in 1890 A. D. Lalan was born as a Hindu. Some call him Lalan Chandra Roy, others name him as Lalan Chandra Das. The name of the father of Lalan is forgotten. His mother's name was Padmabati Devi, his maternal grandfather's name was Bhasma Lochan Das. He was born in the village Chapra (near Kushtia) by the side of the river Gorai in the district of Nadia (now called as Kushtia in East Pakistan). For unknown reasons Lalan's mother left her village and settled in the village of Bhārara nearby. Once Lalan went out in pilgrimage in the company of Baul Das of the said Daspara to Berhampur in the district of Murshidabad in West Bengal for a holy bath. At that time there was no railway communication for the journey. The pilgrims would naturally travel by boat. On the way to return Lalan was very seriously attacked with smallpox. The fell disease attacked him so quickly that Lalan became senseless. His fellow passengers thinking him to be dead made *antarjali* (a religious ceremony) and threw him in the water of the river. Floating Lalan reached a bathing ghat and got back semi-conciousness and cried out for water. Accidentally at that time a weaver woman from Muslim community came to the bathing Ghat to fetch water from the river. She alone courageously fetched him to land and went home to call her husband to aid. They both took him to their house and doctored and nursed him. Miraculously his life was saved. At the time of his convalescence the spiritual guide of the family Seraj Sain of Jessore in East Pakistan came to see the couple. Seraj Sāin took fancy in Lalan and gave instructions and advices.

When he was fully cured of his disease, by permission of his saivours of life Lalan started for home. When his mother Padmabati heard all about him, his stay in a Muslim house, and eating their prepared meals she faced with big problem of social difficulty as no Hindu does take meals in a Muslim house without losing his caste. Before his arrival, thinking him to be dead all religious ceremonies pertaining to a dead man were performed in due time. Lalan spoke every thing in truth and sincerity to his mother. The Hindu leaders of the society prescribed heavy money punishment to Lalan. His mother was unable to procure money to meet the social demand. And moreover, Lalan was offered meals on banana leaves instead of her plates and dishes; and that in a varandah of the dwelling house instead of being given, as is usually served in a kitchen. This definitely was humiliating to Lalan. Still Lalan asked his mother the reason of such a behaviour. His mother avoided the answer. Lalan then understood that he was bereaved of his mother's affection and love as he had taken meals in the house of a Muslim. It did move him deeply. Thinking over the problem deeply, he left his home.

Not far from his native village in the deep forest of Saoria he completely immersed himself in the meditation of Allah. Traditionally it is told that he lived on the wild fruits and roots, and he would not come out in the society of man. While he was deeply engaged in deep meditation he composed songs and sang them. He sat down under a mango tree. Woodcutters and others made a cottage for him to live in.

Lalan was an uncommon mystic. He lead a married life later on. He had no offspring. He adopted Bholai Shah as his son. He initiated Bholai Shah in mystic ways and music. He was buried where he had begun to medidate.

While Dr. Rabindra Nath Tagore came to look after his father's big estate at Selaidah (in Nadia) now Kushtia (in E. Pakistan) he discovered Lalan Shah. He invited him and talked to him and listened to his wonderous music. Lalan and other

bauls exerted a great influence on the unfolding of Dr. Tagore's musical life. Dr. Tagore himself admitted of this influence in his "Introduction to my Haramoni", a collection of folksongs in Bengali. Dr. Tagore himself collected some of the folksongs of Lalan Shah and published those in the leading Bengali journal, the *Probasi*, edited by R. Charterjee.

Lalan composed many thousands of folk-songs. These were not collected, edited and printed. These were found floating and preserved by the disciples of Lalan Shah.

I collected some three hundred of folk-songs of Lalan and published them in my *Haramoni* (Vols. I—IV). No complete collection of his folk-songs are printed as yet. Prof. Upendra Nath Bhattacharyya has published in his monumental book "Banglar Bane o Baulgan, 180 songs" of Lalan Shah and the University of Calcutta is going to publish a volume of Lalan's songs collected by Dr. Moti Lal Das, a Judge in Calcutta. [Pity we are sleeping !] It behoves that the Pakistan Historical Society will publish a *magnus opus* of Lalan Shah's Folk-songs. Recently I collected nearly four hundred of his folk-songs from Shah Kalimuddin of Kushtia.

Lalan Shah composed songs to satisfy the spiritual yearnings of his Hindu and Muslim disciples that were countless. His disciples used to meet him during his life time in an annual gathering, and passed days and nights in music, and then dispersed. Even after his death the annual fair continued. Due to the exodus of the wealthy Hindus it has been dwindling, especially for lack of financial backing.

Lalan Shah wrote in a very chaste style neither too much Arabic nor too much Sanskritic, and that was always intelligible to the masses ; and that at a time when there were very few Muslim writers in Bengali.

Lalan kept, in fact, the morale of the people by his songs just like a small candle burning in a cottage in darkness, when

they were in the complete subjugation and prostration due to the British domination.

The aristocratic Muslims of Bengal never paid any attention to the development of Bengali during the British rule. So Lalan's songs bear a special significance in the contributions of the Muslims in Bengali literature.

Now I like that his songs may be tape-recorded, staff notation be prepared and sent to the Western world for proper assessment in the world of Folk Music as our heritage.

Folk-Songs of Lalan Shah, 1957

(1)

If you do not know the unknown news, then what of being a
mystic ?
That the light from which my enlightened prophet was made,
is also the origin of God.

What shall say about of that light ?
The light is encircled by light,
If you try to get it, you cannot do it,
just as the lightening.

The origin of Muladhar circle is that light,
The secrets of light is a boundless sea ;
He in whose heart has grown the seedling of light
the light flashes.

Siraj Sāin says oh Lalan !
Make a survey of your body,
by measuring light with light
being always vigilant.

(2)

Oh silly mind you have not come to sense !
How do you expect the realisation of Man ?

The day when the messenger of death will come,
And then the play of the world will be broken ;

To give proper account you will feel very hard in the long run.

There are two ways for or against the current,
That is the path of realisation of devotion and freedom.

In it cannot go the dead or disabled in the house of death.
By the touch of which you will become a touch-stone
When will you perform that sadhana ?

The mystic Siraj Sāin says that you Lalan you are keeping from it.

---

(3)

I say to you the secrets of the human body.
You know your own self and be wake up.
By water, earth, fire and air the human body is formed.
By God's own light it has been established.

By light is the station encircled, and inside it lies seven stations,
And above it is twin stars, elightens the three world.

By eighteen things, the twenty-two stations stand.
Though three strings news circulate, ponder deeply to see it.

By three hundred and sixty joints, the air-horse has been joked to.
It is being run by a bold one, his process is of inverse nature.

There are five imams (leaders) and five prophets reading divine Kalams.
In the room of twenty-five. the five are main stations.
There is another station (or centre) in the triveni (confluences of three currents), the current plans in three ways.

You can not get without a Murshid the whereabouts of different things.

There are six centres of illumination in the house (of body) and in six areas the clock moves.

By day and night it is twenty-four hours, and in every hour there comes a shot.
Now is known the causes of breathing, and when breathe goes out, it does not stay.

Lalan says, this is the secret of prayer, oh Balai unawakened!

---

(4)

I do not know what will happen at the last moment.
In what illusion you are spending your days!

I got (the talents) from God, and wasted them away idly; and I did not earn anything.

In the time of reckoning, you can not say muddled words.
Knowingly you, throwing gold, concentrated on tin and base metals.

What and how I may utter the words of remedy now ?
In one and every work I am cheated, and now I am encircled by forty-nine (currents of wind).

Now tell me my mind what will become of you now.

(5)

The nectar water, and that water, you can not get without love.
When that nectar you get at, the process of world (for you) ends.

There is God the exalted, and there He is incomparable.
In the thousand petalled lotus is that, so flows like a tendril the flow.
Shadowless is the great saint, how shall I express its working.
He became 'nature' he became immortal Gora by realising God.

If there is falling of rain water from the sky,
the water stands on the earth.

Lalan the mystic says that only those who are
thoughtful may that.

———

(6)

The origin of eternal is glorious Sri Krisna ; has he got to
time to play the Gosthar-Jatra.

He sits on eternity ; He expresses Himself in part only.

Fullmoon-like Sri Krisna, the adept, in whose body
originates strength.
By strength the great attraction is created, He said
in the Vedas as Vishnu.

He has neither birth nor death in the world ;
yet he is not Nandalala.
The heart of a mystic is fathomless, fellow-brother,
the unknown news he does know.
Devote yourself to an adept, you will be instructed,
his heart is enlightened.

(7)

By great good luck one may see that moon,
There is no "dark moon" in the moon,
in the two petalled lotus it shines its rays,

In the 'Bindu' is the water of ocean, and in the middle is the golden mountain.
There lies the golden abode of unknowable, in that point, measured place.

Where is the world of the moon, there is no play of day and night.
There reigns the illuminated rays far exceeding the rays of one crore moon's rays always.

By its seeing sorrows go away, by its touching one becomes a touch-stone.

—Such is the splendour of the moon,
Lalan does not immerse in it.

---

(8)

Useless thinking wastes valuable days of life, the essence is lost.
When the flowing of air stops, everything goes vain ;
seeing all Lalan does not die.

To whom the Guru is kind in this world, he will cross the ferry triumphantly.

I am dying in the 'aghat' (*i.e.* a place not a bathing place),
I could not learn the manners and worth of a Guru.

By the good deeds of previous birth, learn by hearing and seeing one becomes devoted to a Guru.

Had I that good luck, then would I have become lame ?
Wasting time I know that without the blessings of a Guru life is useless,

Humbly poor Lalan says, Oh my mind, shall I get the shore ?

---

(9)

"To know what I am " is the way of realisation.
The meaning of 'I' is very great, and 'I' am not 'I'
In countless cities and markets always come the sounds of 'I'
If one knows the reality of "I", that the unknowable may be known.
When there was no sky, no earth, then only 'I' was true.
Then come in existence from 'I' the form of you.

Mansoor Hallaj the mystic knew that "I was true"
He fell according to the laws of Sāi, can the laws of *Shariat* get its meaning?

Lalan says these mysteries are open to the place of the Murshid.

---

(10)

The one in whose love I have shaved my head that one knows and my mind knows, who else can know it ?

The Man of the Heart I shall keep in my heart, and it I shall not say to anybody.

How I may pay off the debt of his love, I always think it in my heart.

The matter of happiness is understood by the happy people,
The matter of sorrows is tasted by the sorrowful people.

Without being a mad; how a man may understand the working of the heart of a mad man !

Oh my brother Sridam you go away, you need not hear the state of my mind,

That Kanai was uttering it, Lalan writes in an ode.

---

(11)

You have kept me, Oh my sāin, making me well-water, —in a stagnant pool.

There will be heaving floods, I am hoping that, my miserable station will be removed after some days.

If you sāin do not save me, then do I fall in difficulties,

The water of a river becomes stagnant, cools down in swamps and lakes.

If you cannot travel to the Ganges until the Ganges visits it.

The prayers of a being is useless, if you do not be kind to him.

If an instrument lies a lac of years, how can it give tunes, if there is no player to play on it.

I am the instrument, you are the player, start good harmony in me,

I have heard true that you are the saver of all sinners,

If you don't save the sinner, who will sing of your name ?

Lalan says save me quickly oh sāin in this prison of world.

---

(12)

That to persuade my mind my days are ended.
My mind does not fear its own death what a great injustice !

I put down the trap for a game, that trap has encircled my
own neck.

Will this shame go if wasted in this court of the world ?

I go to catch him by baiting of greed,
I fall in greed myself.

Losing the legal case in court, I wander in the end weeping.

He for whom I brought the bait, the bait itself now
swallowed the young one.

Lalan says that I know that my condition is very broken.

---

(13)

The key of my house is in the hand of another.
How I may open it, and see it myself with my own eyes.
My house is filled with gold, the stranger uses them.

I am born blind, I can not see Him
If the gate keeper is agreeable, then he will admit me
inside.

I do not know Him, I go astray always in wrong ways.

Oh mind in this man is he who is called the golden man !

Lalan says receiving that treasure I could not recognise.

---

(14)

My spindle and charka is disorderly
How much I shall rapair it, I am feeling extremely helpless.

I attach one, the other one becomes loose,
in which land I shall go with my charka !

How long I shall burn in troubles, for this rheumatic charka ?

The qualities of the carpenter are perfect,
he by sixteen art wheels the spindle.

If one in this machinery is disorderly, no one
can put it orderly,

If the charka is made of ordinary wood then it can be
repaired when one part goes wrong.

The body of a man that charka,
does Lalan know its secrets.

---

(15)

That there is the world-father in the womb of mother
think you to find it out
Do not belittle, do not be losing time.
Shariat does not know the foundation of itself,
You may know it by maarifat, if the mind is free from
passions,

In the Koran we find hints as Alif is concealed in Mim.

In form is concealed the Formless ; you may know that secret
if you follow a Murshid.

Being without lustre and passionate,
stand remembering the mother.

Look at the present, in the ownself is
the sign of beauty.

How is that father and mother, that always
float in the sea,

Lalan if you can realise that, then you find
a house within the house.

(16)

In His own image God the merciful created the body of Adam.

Otherwise how He can order the Angels to make prostration to him ?

Calling bad names to Adam the Safiullah, Azazil became the sinner.

Oh my mind you are making sin humparing and it looks like that.

If there was no God in Adam, then sin would have been committed by prostration ;

That which is called idolatry in this world of Shariat.

Man is he who knows Adam ; can a beast find the meaning of that ?

Lalan says the eternal religion is by knowing the secrets of Adam.

---

(17)

In Alif, Lam and Mim,
The Quran has written it fully.

Alif is God the glorious, the Mim means
the Prophet, and Lam has got two meanings.
—One meaning of it is known in the Shariat,
and the other meaning is in Maarifat.
In between Lam, there are right and left
the Alif Mim two persons.
—As we find the tree concealed in a seed,
Such a twist, I can not comprehend.
By signs I express the meaning of Quran,
examine your body.

Then Lalan you will get your quest,
do not move in a problem.

---

(18)

You do not know oh my mind, your own state.
Other's mind is like an immense ocean
how can you know it.
Other means God the great, in the form of soul,
in the two petalled lotus He plays in pleasure.

In hundred petalled and thousand petalled lotuses is
the Sainji's kindness and blisses.
Just behind the bar of a hair the mountain is concealed ;
I can not visit it.
He whose eyes are down-cast now; is getting
the realisation of truth.

Siraj Sain says, Oh Lalan you did not try to know the secrets
of soul by being devoted to the feet of Guru.

Do not think different the lesser soul and greater Soul.

---

(19)

You are losing your span of life by not
knowing the 'Amabati'.
You have no patience even for a day.

When there is the time of 'Amabati' the earth
is filled with moisture
The saints, the Gurus and the Vaisnavas
they go out along with that 'rasa.'
You are the brother of a mad peasant,
you have no common sense.

You are becoming enemy of your own self by ploughing in
'Amabashya' and 'Pratipada'
He who is an adept in ploughing, cultivates his land
knowing the time and season.

Lalan does not find any solution, and throws seeds
left and right.

---

(20)

If you can know your own self,
Then you can know Him by that introduction.
The supreme officer is God the great, has come as soul.
By mental delusion I can not recognise Him,—
what is what ;

The human parts is a part of expression, and is called
in different names for different work.
He who is above mental deception, does not say that.
Is that self is myself, and if you know that
then goes away bad name.

Lalan says, then do I roam in the well of the world.

The Influence of Islam on American Folk-Songs

By

M. Mansooruddin, Dacca

The influence of Islam on American folk-songs is a very interesting study. Islam exerted tremendous influences on Europe in the Middle Ages culturally. In the balladry of Europe Islam played a definite part. Dr. Entuistle surveyed "European Balladry". Dr. Subtic in his "Yugoslov Ballads" made statements that there existed in Yugoslavia a special kind of ballads and folk-music that was created and enjoyed by the Yugoslav Muslims. We find in prepartitioned India that the Muslims created and enjoyed a defferent kind of ballad and folk-music.

In America I believe that there must exist folk-music that have traces of African and Arabian folk-music that was traditional and communicated through African Negros, specially American Negro spirituals. A competent music expert may take the theme that is really profitable.

Today I place before the members and friends of Pakistan Historical Society a folk-song from the American source. This has been collected from Mattawam Keag, Maine, U.S.A. in 1941. The theme of the ballad is really very interesting. The kernel of the song is praising the Christian virtues.

A Factor from England went to Turkey. He did bury in Turkey the dead body of a Christian on the payment of the dead man's debt of £50 for which he was not buried. He later on saved a young Turkish lady who was condemned for the nonpayment of her debt of £100. He paid the money and thus saved the lady, and took her home in England. He went in another land where her father was the king. She sent a beautiful scene

and flowered garment which was recognized by the king. He sent a ship for the lady being fetched from London. On the way the factor was thrown in the sea. The spirit of the dead Christian in Turkey in the form of an old man whom he had buried, saved him. The lady was brought to her father's kingdom. Her father waited for her marriage ceremony being performed delayed by forty days on her request. She was thus saved being married to a wicked sailor who had thrown her beloved in the sea, and was married to her lover by the timely coming of her beloved. The factor had promised to send the old man of the sea his first baby. When the first baby was born the man from the sea appeared for the baby.

It was a very pathetic scene. Then suddenly it was revealed by the Man that he was the spirit of the dead Christian in Turkey so he did not want the baby. The parents were very happy when their child was saved.

The refrain of thought in the ballad is very oriental in spirit and that is fatalism ; "No mortal can alter what God has decreed."

I place before you the full text of the ballad as it is to be formed in [the pages 154-162 of] "Ballads Migrant in New England" collected by Helen Hartness Flanders and Marguerite Olney. [Farrar, Strans and Young New York, 1953.]

The Factor's Song

Behold, here's a duty, the truth and no jest,
Concerning a gentleman lived in the west,
And he by his gaming came to poverty
And afterwards went many voyages to sea.

He being considered a man of great wit,
Three merchants in London, all thinking him fit
For to be their captain and Factor also,
A voyage to old Turkey for them he did go.

As he was a-travelling in Turkey, he found
A poor man's dead body a-lying on the ground ;
He asked the reason and why it there lie
And one of the natives made him this reply.

"This man was a Christian, sir, while he drew breath ;
His debts being not paid, he must lay above earth."
"O what is the sum then ? " the Factor, he cried,
"It's fifty pounds sterling," the old Turk replied.

"This is large sum," said the Factor, "indeed,
But to see him lay here, it doth make my heart bleed ; "
So by this young Factor the money was paid
And into the grave this dead body was laid.

Then going on along further, he chanced to espy
A beautiful lady just going to die ;
A young witty maiden a-strangled must be
For nothing but striking a Turkish lady.

My thoughts on her dying, it filled her with grief
And no one appeared into her relief ;
The Factor was grieved and in haste he drew nigh
Saying, "Ain't it a pity the lady should die ?

"The fault seemeth small for to take away breath,
O what will I give you to free her from death ?"
The answer returned was "one hundred pounds, "
To which for her pardon he freelie paid down.

He said, "Honored lady, are we being refrain ?
It is be of good comfort, you ne'er shall be slain ;
Behold, I have purchased your pardon—be free,
Be willing to go to fair London with me."

She says, "I do thank you who has freed me from death
I am bound to obey you as long as I've breath,
And if that you please to fair London I'll go
And respect into you until death I will show."

He carried her over and as it is said,
He set up housekeeping and she was his maid
For to wait upon him, and hinding her just,
The key of her riches he did her entrest.

At length this young Factor was hired once more
For to cross the wide ocean and the billows that roar,
Into a hot country, his course was to steer
To where this girl's father was ruler, we hear.

Then for this hot country this man did prepare ;
He bought him fine robes, this country to wear,
He bought him a jacket and I have been told
His servant maid wrought it with silver and gold.

She says, "Dearest master, I do understand
That you are bound Factor unto such a land
And if to the Garland, his court you go in,
I'll pray let this flower-id garment be seen."

He says, "To the Garlander's court I must go,
But the meaning of your words I would like for to know."
She says, "I'll not tell you, the meaning you'll find,"
To which he replied, "I will fulfil your mind."

'Twas in a short time the ship reached her port,
Where straightaway he went to the Garlander's court ;
As custom prevailed so far in that place,
It was usual to give some rich gift to the grace.

The gift was accepted and as he stood by,
On this flower-id garment your prince cast his eye,
Which made him astonished and this he did say,
"Friend, who wrought your garment, come, tell me, I pray ?"

"If my grace will admit, I was in Turkey one day,
I espied a young lady just going to die ;

I paid for her pardon one hundred pound
And I took her home with me to fair London town.

Now she is my housekeeper while I'm in this land
And when of my coming she did understand,
She flowered this garment, gave charge unto me
To let it be seen by your great majesty."

Thus said the old prince, "This robe I now wear,
It is of the same flower and spot I declare;
You maid wrought them both, she is my daughter dear,
I have not heard from her—'Tis now most three years.

'Twas out of respect to a neighboring friend,
I sent her on shipboard—I've not seen her since;
I feared that the ocean did prove her sad grave
Till since into Turkey she was taken a slave.

"For the loss of my daughter to whom I thought dead,
Has caused many a tear in this court to be shed;
The princesses, her mother for her could not rest,
Drew thousands and millions of sighs to her breast.

"Your ship it shall be richly laden, indeed,
I'll send a ship for her convoy with speed;
Since it is so ordered you've saved my child's life,
Bring her alive to me, I'll make her your wife.

"If you should not live for to bring her to me,
The first man that brings her his bride she shall be;
A hundred, a thousand year she shall have;
It is therefore take care my dear daughter to save!

The ship it was ladened, the anchor was weighed
And he and his convoy sailed over with speed
To fair London city, then home he did go
For to let this young princess those tidings to know.

He said, "Honored lady, good news I've to tell,
The old prince, your father, and mother is well;

And your London parent this thing have designed
That in baus of wedlock we both shall be joined.

"Suppose, noble lady, you would not be free
For to marry a poor man, especially me ?"
"If you was a beggar, I would be your wife,
When I was near dying you saved my life.

"Come, sell of your goods that you now have in store,
Give all of your money to those who are poor
And let no be going with speed o'er the main,
For I long to be home,—my dear parents again."

On this was despatched and as they sailed away
In the ship that her father sent for her convoy ;
But mark what was acted on the ocean wide,
To deprive this young Factor of his royal bride.

The captain conveyed them with speed o' er the deep.
One night as the Foctor, he lay in his sleep;
To fulfil his promise, him overboard cast
Saying, "Now I shall gain this fair lady at last."

There happened to be a small island at hand,
To where he did swim as we do understand ;
So now we will leave him awhile for to mourn
And unto the ship we'll return back again.

'Twas early next morning when daylight did peep.
They awoke this young lady out of her sleep,
Saying, "Honored young lady, the Factor's not here
He fell overboard and is drowned, we fear."

Then into deep morning she instant-lie went,
For the loss of her lover, sad tears to lament.
"Since there's no one can help it, your weeping refrain
Behold ! you shall see your dear parents again."

Then in a short time the ship reached the port,
Where this lady went weeping to her poor father's court
And she was recieved with great joy and great mirth,
Saying, "Where is the young man that has saved you from death ?"

The captain replied, "As he lay in his sleep,
He fell overboard and was drowned in the deep ;
Your grace said the man who should bring your child home
Should have her for a wife, sir. For that I have come."

"Yes, that was my promise," the old prince, he cried,
"What sayest thou, daughter, wilt thou be his bride ?"
"O yes, honored father, O yes, if you please,
But for him saved my life I will mourn forty days."

On this desolate island the Factor, he lay
In the flood of tears weeping two nights and a day,
Till on the wide ocean appeared in his view
A little old man paddling a canoe.

The Factor hailed to him and bade him to stay,
The old man drew nigh and this he did say,
"Friend, how came thou hither, I pray let me know?"
So he told him the matter and where he would go.

"Now," said the old man, "If it's here you do lie,
It is with grief and hunger—in short time you'll die ;
O what will you give me ?" the old man he cried,
"I have nothing to give you," the Factor replied.

"Now", said the old man, "Here is one thing I'll do,
Give me the first babe that is born unto you,
When it doth arrive at full thirty months old,
And you shall be conveyed to the place you have told."

The Factor considered this thing would cause grief
And also without it there was no relief ;
He cried, "Life is sweet, and my life for to save,
Take me to the place and your will you shall have."

The Factor's conveyed there, to this great joy,
Where the lady was weeping for the loss of her love ;
Looking out of the window, beholding him there,
It was joy from great weeping, transported she were.

He entered the gate and with great joy was received.
This lady she met him, who for him was grieved,
She cried, "O darling, my joy and my dear ;
Where have you long torried, I pray let me hear ?"

"Where I have long torried, I now will relate,
Since I have arrived at your father's gate.
I was cast overboard as I lay in my sleep,
I think—'twas the captain threw me in the deep."

'Twas then the ship captain was sent for in speed,
On hearing the Factor had came there, indeed ;
He proved himself guilty like a cruel knave,
Leaped into the ocean which proved his sad grave.

Next day the old prince for to fulfil his mind,
The lady and Factor in wedlock was joined ;
Within the compass and space of three years,
They had a fine son and a daughter, we hear.

The first was a son and a perfect beauty
And was well beloved by the whole family ;
In full thirty months the old man came for his child
That carried the Factor from this desert Isle.

'Twas with a grim look the old man did appear,
Which made the court shuddder and trouble with fear ;
"O what shall we do for it's sure he's no man.
He will have our darling, do all that we can."

"O yes," said the old man, "I will have my due,
Here is one babe for me and another for you,
O yes, I will have him, come, give him to me ! "
To which the whole family wept bitterly.

They first having kissed it and down the tears fell,
Then they did embrace it and bade it farewell ;
She says, "For the sake of my husband and I,
I part with my first born, but, for it I die."

'Twas with a grim look the old man he did say,
"Sir, don't you remember in Turkey one day
You spied a dead body lying on the ground
And to have it buried you paid fifty pound ?

"Now I am the spirit of that poor body,
I saved you for that Christian act unto me ;
So you may keep your child and may God bless you all !"
And away then he vanishes out of the hall.

Having gone, the old prince and princess likewise
And the babe's tender parents with tears in their eyes
They first having kissed it, their darling, their son,
Saying, "Child, hadst thou left us, we would be undone."

So leaving the court full of joy and great mirth,
For to love one another while God giveth breath ;
So by this young Factor you can see indeed,
No mortal can alter what God has decreed.

Babur and the Afghans[1]

By

Hidayat-Ullah, Bannu

Babur makes a mention of the Afghans in his Memoirs when he is the master of the kingdom of Kabul. It was in his newly-won country of Kabul that he first came into contact with them. But it is strange that he should have spoken so lightly of them. The Afghans of the present day are a dynamic people and their role in wresting independence from unwilling hands is highly conspicuous in the annals of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, while Babur's kinsmen and country men are still groaning under the iron heels of Russia. In his description of Kabul, he refers to the Afghans and Khiljis living between Kabul and Nengnahar as robbers and brigands. He speaks of the Bangush pargana in a similar strain. He says that all the Afghans of the Bangush pargana are free-booters and that he intends to lead a punitive expedition against them. It seems that this attitude is based on ignorance and it is nothing short of exaggeration on his part that the anti-social activities of a few individuals should have been confused with the activities of the whole tribes. Surely the Afghans possessed in those days, as they do now, a sturdy love for independence and they cared little for the control of the Government. Even he found it very difficult to realize revenue from them and he had to use force for the purpose. The kingdom of Kabul was poor, he could not get enough money from hardy Afghans, therefore necessity drove him on his foray into Hindustan in January 1505. He went through the Khyber Pass and found himself again amongst the Afghans of the Peshawar district. Babur was irresistible and his followers pillaged everything in their path, they sacked and burned houses, trampled the wheat and rice fields and carried off the herds. It was here in Peshawar that Malik Khusrau of the Kakiyani tribe of the

---

1 This Paper is mainly based on *Babur Namah*

Afghans joined his service and played the role of a guide to his army. Yar Hussain, the son of Darya Khan, also got a *firman* from Babur granting him Khanship over Yusafzai, Kakiyani and Dolazek tribes. Babur did not cross the Indus this year but on the advice of Baki Jaganiani, the most influential of his general, turned south along the mountains to the east of the stream. Parts of Kohat and Bannu district were overrun and ravaged. The Bangush and the Banoochis, two Afghans tribes, tried to resist his advance through their respective territories, but their efforts were unavailing. They were beaten and their Khans were compelled to put grass in their mouths and beg forgiveness of him. Shadi Khan of the Bannu district sought forgiveness on behalf of the Banochis. Babur stern as he was still erected pyramids of skulls both in the Bangush and Bannu areas to serve as a warning to the refractory Afghans and to teach the value of obedience to those who might wish to keep their heads on their shoulders. But the prince way very wary in the hostile country. He was ever ready for offence as well defence. He maintained a strict watch every night, every corps was armed and sentinels were posted about the Camp. He himself went round the Camp at night. His precautions show that he was harassed by the Afghans though their resistance was unorganised and badly led. The Prince Errant continued his march and now encountered the Niazi Pathans of Isa-Khel. He ravaged their country and pillaged sheep, goats and cows. He had the good fortune of plundering an Afghan's caravan. The chief merchant Khawaja Khizer Naukhani was beheaded and his store plundered. The expedition into India swung to the West from the plateau where now the city of Dera Ghazi Khan stands. He was back on Kabul after an absence of four months. He came by way of Ghazni. In the following winter the Afghans of Tarkalani were raided. The Khilji Afghans in 1517 A. D. (919 A. H.) were the next target of his raiding expedition. His own share of sheep in the foray was sixteen thousands, the usual pyramid of owners' skulls was erected as a monument of regal rights. In his second projected invasion of India the Afghan clans of Khizer Khel and Shamu Khel between Kabul and Lamghan were harassed.

He speaks of them as robbers even in times of peace. In troubled times according to him their marauding activities gain extraordinary intensity. The Mohmand Afghans shared the same fate at his hands, in the succeeding year 1518 A.D. Towards the end of this year an expedition against the Yusafzai Pathans of Mardan District was undertaken, he aimed at reducing the territory lying between the Kunar and the Indus. In his treatment of the Yusafzais he mingled harshness with poliety, he raided them, erected a pyramid of their heads but also married Bibi Mubaraka, daughter of Shah Mansur, who was the Khan of the tribe. He also set the Dilazaks against the Yusafzais, the former were dispossessed by the latter some fifty years ago. He also permitted the Yusafzais to invade Swat and Bajaur as the Sultan of the two countries were against him. Bajaur was conquered by him and was handed over to Khwaja Kalan. It was against Bajaur that he for the first time employed the muskets and cannon. He had in his service a number of specialists notably the master gunner Ali Kuli. A general massacre of men was carried out in Bajaur. This had the desired effect. The ruler of Swat hastened to surrender without drawing the sword. But these expeditions had not brought money to his purse and war was a business with him. He, therefore, determined to make a dash into Hindustan across the Indus. He crossed that river above Attock in February 1519 much against the advice of his council and reached Bhera. The ruler of Bhera was Ali Khan, the son of Daulat Khan Afghan, the Governor of Lahore. Babur was able to take possession of Bera, Khushab, Chenab and Cheniot. The Afghan Khans submitted to him. It was from Bhera that Babur sent an envoy named Mulla Murshid to the Court of Sultan Ibrahim, the Afghan emperor of Delhi claiming Lordship over the districts conquered by him. But the envoy was not allowed to proceed to Delhi by Daulat Khan. The Mullah Sahib had letters with him addressed to the Sultan and Daulat Khan. Babur indignantly writes in his Memoirs at this points: "These people of Hindustan particularly the Afghans are foolish. Neither have they got the power to

offer resistance nor the capacity to run away". On his return to Kabul in the same year he led a punitive expedition against Abdur Rehman who was a leader of the Afghans and lived on the frontier of Kurdez. Abdur Rehman did not pay revenue he had also taken to brigandage. He was successful in defeating the Afghans, as usual a pyramid of their skulls was erected to serve as a warning to others. It was merely an Asiatic method of advertising the advantages of obedience.

Pillage was another thing. He speaks frankly of it. His raids were made where rice and wheat were to be had. They were, in other words, shopping trips. On the advice of the Dalazak Khans of Peshawar, he led a raid against Yusafzai of Hushnagar. He proceeded to the homeland of Yusafzai *via* Khyber Pass. The stout hearted Afridi Pathans could not arrest his march, he did not pay toll to them and passed through their territory by sheer force. The gallantry of Babur reveals itself to us in full splendour when we read in his Memoirs that the Afghans could not make a stand against him. The different tribes of the Afghans—the Yusafzais, Afridis, Khiljis, Mohammadzais, Waziris, Bangush, the Banoochis, Niazis, etc.,—were all subjected to raiding expeditions—the Yusafzais were in particular the target of his repeated raids because they inhabited the fertile Peshawar valley. His repeated victories over the brave Afghans call for some observations, for the latter were in no way inferior to his Mughal soldiers either in point of fighting qualities or endurance of hardships. The explanation is to be sought in the disunity and selfishness of the Afghans and the absence of remarkable leaders among them. The history of the Pathans has always been the history of their outstanding personalities who by their superior force weld them into a powerful nation for some time but as soon as their strong hands are removed, they break asunder and fall a prey to their enemies. We do not hear of any combinations among the various clans in order to check Babur's advance. The Mughals, on the other hand, had an experienced general and a superior cavalry force. They made lightning and swift raids and the disunited Afghans could not resist them.

The wheat and rice looted this time were stored in the forts of Hasnagar and Peshawar, the Afridis were hunted down. Arrangements were made for punishing the Khizer Khels Afghans who had lately assumed a refractory attitude. The faults of the Khilji and Shamoba Afghans were forgiven on the intercession of the Delazak Amirs. Their prisoners were set at liberty, their Khans were presented with robes of honour. Collectors were also appointed to exact tribute from them, fourteen thousand sheep in all. When he was in Kabul his friends to whom he had assigned the Government of the Punjab abondoned their posts and left the country to its old masters. Obviously, Babur could not brook this and the following winter he again marched into the Punjab. He punished the rebels of Bhera and captured the cities of Sialkot and Saidpur. He wanted to capture Lahore too but was called home by an invasion of Shouja Beg, the ruler of Qandhar. He made himself the master of Qandhar in 1522, its ruler having retired to Siwi in the lower valley of the Indus. He was now perfectly secure in his Kingdom of Kabul and was harbouring designs of trying conclusions with the Afghan masters of India. At this stage a new chapter of his relations opens with the Indian Afghans who were rulers of Hindustan. Their emperor was Ibrahim Lodhi, son of Sikandar Lodhi, who by his tyrannical policy had driven the Afghan nobles to acts of open rebellion and conspiracy with Babur Padi Shah. The rule of the Afghan Sultan had become intolerable even to his own kith and kin, his uncle Ala-Ud-Din had fled to Kabul to solicit the aid of its ruler, *i. e.* Babur. The Governor of Lahore, Daulat Khan Lodhi, in sheer alarm, had also sent his son Dilawar Khan to him for help. The latter spoke to the Padi Shah about the inhumanities perpetrated by the Afghan King and the resultant fury that prevailed among the nobles. He urged him to intervene. In a conversation that followed between the two, Dilawar told Babur, that his father and grandfather spent forty perilous years in the Sultan's service, but he persecuted the most faithful of his vassals. Without cause, he further said, Sultan Ibrahim had put to death twenty-three of his best men and had ruined their families. Some he had spitted upon hooks

and they hanged from the battlements, others he had burned alive. That was the reason why the nobles had sent him to the Padi Shah to convey their homage. He further informed him that they awaited him anxiously.

Ahmad Yadgar the historian informs us that Babur passed the entire night in walking about his garden. When dawn brightened in the sky he lifted up the hands of prayer: "O God, if India will belong to me, give me a sign. Let the fruits of that country, the betel leaf and the mango be brought before me today. I shall accept them as favourable omen." And strange to say that Dilawar Khan, presenting himself again offered him the gifts. Among them were betel leaves and half ripe mangoes. Babur was now convinced of his mission and to Dilawar he gave lavish presents. It was late in the autumn of 1523 that he marched into the Punjab and following his previous route to Bhira was soon in the neighbourhood of Lahore. The insurgent Governor of Lahore, *i. e.* Daulat Khan Lodhi, was already driven by the Delhi army but he was avenged by Babur who inflicted defeat on the imperial forces sent by Sultan Ibrahim. Lahore was occupied and shortly afterwards marched towards Diapalpur. He stormed and sacked the town and massacred the garrison. Here he established Alaud-Din with a Mongol to watch him. Daulat Khan was dissatisfied with the minor role which Babur had assigned him, he therefore deserted with his forces, and disappeared into the foothills of the Himalayas. The hostile attitude adopted by the two Afghan Khans, *i.e.* Daulat Khan and Ala-ud-Din compelled him to fall back upon Kabul and to invade next time with fresh re-inforcements. He had, however, made arrangements for the occupation of the Punjab which was now threatened by his former allies. But he was not the man to yield ground or abandon his dream of conquering India. He, more than anybody else, knew the worth of the Afghans who were a disunited people then. Moreover, he had met them many a time and had experienced their fighting power. It was on Friday the seventeenth of November, 1525, that he departed on his fifth and last expedition into Hindustan which was then ruled by the disunited Lodhi Afghans. For a few days

he lingered with his army in the "Gardens of Fidelity" on the banks of Kabul waiting for Humayun. He floated down the stream in his boat feasting with the men of his suite. Joyous mornings were followed by joyous evenings, wine and hashish added to the pleasure of life. On the arrival of Humayun, the army marched quickly to the river Indus which was crossed by means of boats. The total number of soldiers, good and bad, was twelve thousand.

Babur took his course to the north of Lahore over the foothills of the mountains and in the direction of Sialkot, for he could provision his troops there. He, however, knew that he must decide the fate of Daulat Khan who had assumed an inimical attitude. The old Afghan Khan had girded on two swords in token of his resolve to win or die. His troops lay on the banks of the Ravi near Lahore. When they received the news of his approach, they fled without waiting for him. Daulat Khan himself hid in his mountain castle at Milwet some hundred miles from Lahore. Babur was hot in pursuit and invested the fort. Daulat Khan, however, surrendered the fort without striking a blow. He was compelled to tender his submission in person. When he hesitated to kneel, Babur had him hauled to his presence by the heels. Then Babur angrily addressed him thus: "I called you father and treated you with the utmost respect, saved you and your children from the ignominious treatment of Mallu Khan, released your family from the captivity of Ibrahim. I gave you a dependency of Tatar Khan worth three crores. What harm had I done you that you returned my favours by invading my territories and fomenting trouble and discord there . . . ?" "The stupid old man did not know what to answer" says Babur. At last it was decided that his wives and family should be set at liberty and his property be confiscated. He personally superintended their departure from the castle and afterwards entered it. He tried his best to capture Ghazi Khan who was unable to resist him. The Khan was searched in the town by Babur himself, but he had escaped leaving his father, younger brother and sister and goods to the tender mercies of the enemy. Babur visited his library and was then off in his

pursuit harrying him through the steep gorges of mountains but never quite catching him. The fort of Kotla was captured. Leaving Ghazi Khan to a flying column, he turned back to continue his march towards Delhi. Dilawar Khan accepted service under him when he was in the neighbourhood of Milwat. Daulat Khan, Ali Khan and Ismail Khan and a few other Afghan leaders were handed to Katta Beg, they were to be confined in the Maloni fort in Bhera. Daulat Khan, however, died at Sultanpur. Thus passed away in ignominy one of the leading nobles of the Afghan Empire of Hindustan, he perhaps deserved that treatment, for he first proved traitor to his own Sultan and then proved false to the Padi Shah, whom he had invited to invade India. At this point Babur writes in his Memoirs, "while despatching an army in pursuit of Ghazi Khan, I, placing my foot in the stirrup of resolution and laying my hands on the reins of dependence on Almighty God, turned my attention towards Sultan Ibrahim, son of Sultan Sikandar, son of Sultan Bahlol Lodhi Afghan, the emperor of Hindustan whose capital was Delhi and who had one lakh army and one thousand elephants." While traversing the East Punjab he receives the submission of a number of Afghan nobles including Alam Khan whom he accorded a good reception befitting his rank and dignity. When one of the Afghans Biban sits down in his presence he writes: "These Afghans are devoid of all etiquette." He crosses the Sutlaj at Ropur and reaches Ambala. He arrives at the Jumna. At last Sultan Ibrahim who had allowed Babur to pass through his country so far came out to fight. The invader had marched four hundred miles beyond the Indus. While the bulk of Ibrahim's forces marched due north from Delhi along the right bank of the Jumna, another force under Hamid Khan moved up from Hissar Firuza and bore down upon Babur's right wing commanded by Humayun, then a young man of eighteen years. The lad was however successful in scattering the Indian forces led by Hamid Khan the Afghan.

Babur followed the course of the river towards Delhi. Then having secret information from Haider Kuli, he made preparations to meet the flanking movement of six-seven thousand

horse led by Daud Khan and Haitham Khan, the Sultan's generals. In the encounter that followed the Sultan's division was routed, Haitham Khan killed. Babur added seventy prisoners and six elephants to his train. It was now the first of April 1526, Babur had reached Panipat. He took up a defensive position there. Across the plain, Ibrahim also approached. According to his estimate the Afghan Sultan had one lakh soldiers and one thousand elephants. About Sultan Ibrahim, Babur says: "He had a full treasury accumulated by his father and himself. The custom prevails in India that in war like conditions, a new army is recruited for a few days. Had he done like that, he could have brought into the field one lakh army more. He could neither please the army, nor distribute his treasures. How could he please the people for he was a miser by nature? He was an inexperienced raw youth. Neither could he make reasonable arrangements for marching nor for halting or flying. He did not think of attacking us when we were digging a ditch or arranging carts." Babur had an equally poor opinion about the strategy and military tactics of the Afghan Sultan. When one of his chiefs Darvish Mohd. Sarban said that the enemy would not attack the perfect defences prepared by him at Panipat, he answered thus: "We must not judge these people as though they were Uzbeks who know how to fight. When I left Samerkand and entrenched myself in the streets of Hissar, those who were my enemies then were too experienced to storm my defences. But these today are incapable of conceiving or executing any sensible manoeuvre. They cannot march and halt intelligently. The strength of Ibrahim's army is not precisely known but it is certain that he greatly outnumbered Babur's small body. In spite of that superiority, the Sultan would not strike. The Padi Shah was tired of waiting. A surprise attack was delivered by Mahdi Khwaja, Muhammad Sultan Mirza, Sultan Junaid and a few others. Though this attack of four or five thousand men was repulsed, yet Sultan Ibrahim was drawn into assuming the offensive. He moved up in order of battle at dawn on the twenty first of April, 1526. The battle had been engaged when the sun stood a javelin's height above the horizon and it was

over at midday. The army of Delhi was defeated and fifteen to

leading Afghan nobles, namely Wali Sherwani and Alam Khan, elder brother of Nizam Khan, co-operated with him in overthrowing the power of the Afghans. But the Afghan nobels were reduced to submission more by tact and policy than by force. They were persuaded to surrender. For example Babur wrote the following memorable lines to the Lord of Biana:

با ترک ستیزه مکن اے میر بییانه
چالاکی و مردانگی ترکی عیان است
گر زود نیائی و نصیحت نکنی گوش
آنچه که عیان است چه حاجت به بیان است

The nobles after surrendering the towns to him were generously treated by him. They were awarded suitable Jagirs. But the revengeful Afghans were not reconciled to the rule of the Turks. They could not forget that only a few months ago, their race ruled Hindustan. They were ready to employ any method poison, dagger and revolt to achieve the end. They were only awaiting a suitable opportunity. The mother of Sultan Ibrahim used poison against Babur but the object could not be achieved. As a result of the attempt, she was imprisoned and the near relatives of the late Sultan still more suffered. Another favourable opportunity was not long in coming. Soon the Mughul Emperor had to face Rana Sanga of Udaipur. Hassan Khan Mewati rebelled and sided with the veteran Rajput. He was the chief Afghan rebel who set aside religious consideration and openly fought on the side of the Hindu Raja. An idea of the Afghan spirit of revenge could be amply had from this incident. Other Afghan nobles who were previously loyal to him also revolted at this critical juncture. Qutab Khan captured Chandwar, Rustam Khan possessed himself of Koil. Alam Khan fled from Gwalior and Haibat Khan moved on Sambhal. But Babur could not be cowed down. When the Rana Sanga affair was over and he had emerged victorious, he was free to deal with them as he liked. After conquering Chanderi, he marched straight upon the Afghan insurgents who held the towns. Their leaders were Biban Jilwani, Bayazid and Ma'ruf.

Babur by forced riding arrived at Kanauj only to find that the Afghans had evacuated it and taken up a position on the left of the Ganges. He ordered his engineers to set up a pontoon bridge across the river for the passage of his troops. The Afghans on the other side of the river laughed at the construction of the bridge but when it was finished, the laughter ceased. The troops rushed across the bridge and drove the Afghans from the bridge head. The decisive victory was not won on that day, offensive was resumed the following day but the enemy had fled. A few days later Babur's troops entered Lucknow and captured Bayazid's family. Bayazid himself could not be captured, he had fled into the thorngroves of the plain. The Afghan army was dispersed and Babur returned to Agra for the rainy season.

But he was not destined to enjoy repose in Agra for long. The Afghan menace had once more appeared in the east. The leader of the revolt was Mahmud Lodhi, brother of Sultan Ibrahim. The Afghans of the eastern provinces had flocked to his standard. He was soon besieging Chunar. The second army of the rebellious Afghans under Sher Khan, the future emperor of Hindustan, was stationed at Benares and a third army was commanded by Biban and Bayazid. Babur received this news in January 1529, whilst he was staying in Dholpur. He was soon in the saddle and was marching against them with alacrity. The Emperor's name now inspired terror. Scarely had he arrived at Allahabad when the Afghan lost courage and raised the seige of Chunar. Sher Khan, too, escaped from Benares. He was able to occupy Benares and Ghazipur without lifting a hand. It was near the latter town that a number of Afghan nobles, *i. e.* Mahmud Khan, Jalal Khan, Behar Khan, Farid Khan, Nasir Khan, Sher Khan Sur and Balwal Khan, etc., tendered their submission. The pretender, Mahmud Lodhi, finding himself deserted sought protection with the Bengal army. Babur was now determined to crush the power of the Afghans for ever. Reinforced by 20,000 men from Jaunpur, he resolved to force the passage of the Gogra in face of the Bengalis. The Ganges and the Gogra were skillfully crossed and on Thursday

the sixth of May 1529, the battle began. Attacked in front, rear and flank, the Bengal army had no chance. He had proved his generalship once again. The Afghan lords fled before him and peace was made with Nasrat Shah, the King of Bengal, on favourable terms. The real aim of the campaign as Babur himself says, was to crush the Afghans of Behar and Bengal and this end was realized. Some among these left the field, some tendered submission to him and others sought refuge with the Bengalis. Babur, no doubt, did not like those who resisted him and therefore he employed force against them but those who submitted to him were always liberally treated by him. For example Jalal Khan, grandson of Darya Khan, was given a Jagir in Behar worth Rs. 50 lakhs. They were also trusted and were used against their own race. Ali Khan Farmuli, Nizam Khan and Hussain Khan were sent against Biban and Bayazid who were still in the field at Lucknow. It was Mubarak Khan Holwani who inflicted a defeat on the two Afghan rebels who hearing of the approach of the emperor fled pellmell to the frontiers of Bandelkhand and beyond. The victorious emperor tried to cut them off but they managed to escape and the rains began to fall. He was now the master of northern India which once belonged to the Lodhi Afghans whose power was crushed for the time being. He had successfully used the two methods, force and money, against them. The Afghan nobles had perforce submitted to him. But they could not forget the past, they were sullenly brooding over their past mistakes and follies which cost them their empire of Hindustan. They simply wanted a leader who should lead them to victory. The leader was not long in coming. There appeared Sher Khan Sur on the stage of Indian history and eleven years later the Afghan defeats were amply avenged by him. The successor of Babur was flying before the Afghans who now established a second Afghan empire in India in 1540.

[illegible] (May 1529) [illegible]. Askari led the front, and flanks. The Afghans had no chance. He had proved his generalship once again. The Afghan forces fled before him and peace was made with Nusrat Shah, the King of Bengal, on favourable terms. The real aim of the campaign as Babur saw it was to crush the Afghans of Behar and Bengal and this end was achieved. Some among them left the field, some rendered submission and others sought refuge with the Bengali Sultan. [illegible] did not like those who [illegible] him and [illegible] [illegible] against him but those who submitted to him were always generously treated by him. For example Jalal Khan, grandson of Darya Khan, was given a Jagir in Behar worth [illegible]. They were also trusted and were used against their own race. Ali Khan Farmuli, Nasir Khan and [illegible] Khan were sent against Biban and Bayazid who were [illegible] the field at Lucknow. It was Mubarak Khan Lohani, [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] Afghan [illegible] the leading of the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to the frontiers of [illegible] and [illegible] victorious [illegible] tried to cut them off but they [illegible] escape and the rains began to fall. He was now the [illegible] of Northern India which were subjected to the Lodhi Afghans [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible]. He [illegible] [illegible] the [illegible] methods, force and money, against [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to him. But [illegible] [illegible], they were [illegible] breaching [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible] which cost them [illegible] of [illegible]. They only wanted a leader who [illegible] than [illegible]. The [illegible] was not long in coming. There appeared [illegible] Khan [illegible] on the stage of Indian history and [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] the Afghan [illegible] were [illegible] avenged by him. The [illegible] of Babur was [illegible] before the Afghans who [illegible] [illegible] a [illegible] Afghan empire in India in [illegible].

The Kingdom of Ghazna on the Eve of the Muslim Conquest

By

Dr. N. A. Baloch, Hyderabad, Sind

During the 7th century A.D., when the Muslim armies arrived on the north-eastern frontiers of Sijistan (Seistan), they found the two independent States of Kabulistan and Zabulistan established between Seistan and the North-Western frontiers of India. Kabulistan was the kingdom of Kabul and Zabulistan was the kingdom of Ghazna. While we have comparatively sufficient data to trace the history of Kabulistan and its rulers during 7th and 8th centuries A.D., the history of the twin State of Zabulistan remains obscure during the same period.

It appears that since ancient times the region contiguous with Sijistan and its provinces on the N. E. was known as Zabulistan, for the Persian monarch Bahman starting from Seistan (a part of Persian kingdom) northwards waged wars with the southern territories of Zabulistan.[1] Hsuan Tsang is supposed to have referred to it as the kingdom of Tsau-ku-cha or Tsaoli (*i.e.* Zauli or Zabulistan). The author of *Hudud-ul-Alam* clearly states that "Ghazni and the adjoining territories are called Zabulistan."[2] Ghazna was indeed the heart of Zabulistan[3] and for that reason Mahmud of Ghazna was known as Zabulistani, *i.e.* belonging to Zabulistan.

So far as its boundaries were concerned, it comprised the region around Ghazna extending along the entire upper valley

---

1 Vide *Hamza*, p. 18.

2 Persian Text, Iran Ed. p. 64 ; cf. Ibn-al-Athir III/221 ; Yaqubi, *Buldan* under (زابلستان) ; see also Tarikh-e-Seistan, p. 308 & fn.

3 Qalqashandi, IV/397.

of the Helmand river; on the north, it was bounded by the kingdom of Kabulistan; on the east, by the territories of Fala-na or Bannu; on the south, lay the regions of Kiz-Kanan and O-pie-kan; on the south-west, the outlying parts of Seistan such as Arachoasia or al-Rukkhaj, Bust, and Zamin-e-Dawar; and to the west, the mountains of Ghur.

When the Sassanid power declined and the Muslims got a footing in Seistan, Bust and al-Rukkhaj became a bone of contention between the rulers of Zabulistan and the Arab Governors of Seistan and, at least for some time these parts were entirely held by the rulers of Zabulistan. But who were the rulers of Zabulistan? This has indeed been an enigma so far.

Culturally and ethnologically the lands of Zabulistan did not differ from the lands of Kabulistan. The whole region lying between India, Seistan and Ghur was inhabited by the Turki tribes who kept up their culture up to the middle of the 4th century A.H. (10th century A.D.) when al-Istakhari wrote that "inhabitants of this whole region are like Turks both in dress as well as in language."[1] Ever since the days of the Bacterian Greeks in 2nd century, these regions were successively conquered and held by the various stocks of the Turkish origin.[2] It is, therefore, natural to presume that in 7th century A.D. the Shahs of Zabulistan like the Shahs of Kabulistan were of Turkish decent. Numistic evidence shows that some powerful rulers flourished in this region in the seventh century A.D. They used the old title "Shahi" and one of them, Shahi Tigin, called himself lord of 'India and Persia,' more properly of 'Takan and Khurasan'. Another, Vasudeva called himself king of Zabulistan and Multan. The rule of Shahi Tigin may be placed at the beginning, and that of Vasudeva in the middle of the seventh century. It appears that this Shahi Tigin, as the very name indicates, was a ruler belonging to a *Turki dynasty* of Zabulistan

1 *Al-Istakhari*, pp. 244-5.

2 The Bacterian Greeks were followed by the Sakas, the Parthians, the Yuechi or Tukhari Turks, the Epthalites (c. 470—520 A. D.)—all belonging to the various stocks of Turkish origin.

which was in all probability akin to the Turkey dynasty of the Kabulshahis proginated by Braha-Tigin.[1] Vasudeva appears to be an Indian ruler of North-West India who may have conquered a part of Zabulistan just as Shahi Tigin seems to have extended his sway on some parts of Takan or Takkadesha (Southern Punjab) in India.

When Hsuan Tsang visited Zabulistan, apparently its ruler was friendly to the King of Kabulistan who accompanied Hsuan Tsang to Zabulistan and thence to the (frontiers of his own kingdom). This leads one to the assumption that possibly the two states of Kabulistan and Zabulistan were being ruled by the two twin branches of the Kushan Yuechis. Huien Tsang does not mention that his Tsao-ku-ta or Tsaoli or Zauli (Zabulistan) was a tributary of Kia-pi-Shi (Kabul Shah) as Cunnigham has conjectured.[2] The Shahi dynasty of Zabulistan to which Shahi Tigin seems to have belonged was properly known as the 'Zabul Shahis', the title of the ruler being "Zabul Shah", just as 'Kabul Shah' was the title of the rulers of Kabul.

But by the end of the seventh century (during the governorship of Ziyad—53 A.H.), the Shahi house was supplanted by another Turkish dynasty of the Rutbils. But who were the Rutbils ?

There have been very wild conjectures about the origin of this word Rutbil "رتبیل". The editor of the *Tarikh-e-Seistan* has preferred the reading "Zanbil" throughout and along with the editor of *Mujmil-al-Tāwarikh* remarks that in some old Persian historical manuscripts (which are mere translations from the Arabic originals), like the Persian translations of *Tanbih wa-al-Ishraf* by al-Masudi and *Tārikh Tabari*, the variants زنتبیل (Zintabil) and "زندبیل" (Zindabil) are also found and that "Zintabil" may be the more correct form having been derived from the original

---

1 Cf. al-Beruni, *Kitab-al-Hind* pp. 207-08 and *Kitab-al-Jamahir*, p. 25.

2 Cunnigham, p. 20.

"Zindah-Pil" meaning strong. [1] Such variations as *Zindah-Pil* or *Zantbil* do no better than carry a sense of Persian philology. Again those who are fond of showing him as a Hindu king devise an Indian name for him. Thus, Raverty would suggest 'Zantbil' to be the variation of 'Ranthbil' or even of 'Ratan Pal'[2] (?). So far as the variants are concerned they are indeed as many as the number of editors and scholars who happened to read this word in their own way in any of the single manuscript copies which they had a chance to consult.[3] In order to find out the true original reading, we can do no better than to refer to the earliest Arabic histories of al-Baladhuri, al-Yakubi and al-Tabari who all wrote independently. These works edited with great pains by the most erudite scholars have Rutbil (رتبيل) as the standard reading in the texts[4] and so also Masudi's important work Muruj-al-Dhahb.[5] It cannot be 'Zanbil' (which is a word of Arabic origin),[6] or *Zintbil*, or any other form of 'Zindah-pil' which word was actually known to the Arabs with its pronunciation of '*Zīndabil*' or *Zandabil* [7] along with its connotation.[8] As such, it would not have been corrupted to any other form by these early historians who were at the same time great literary scholars. Masudi's evidence may be regarded as conclusive in this respect, for he uses

---

1 Vide *Tarikh-e-Seistan*, footnotes pp. 91-2 and *Mujmil-al-Tawarikh*, footnotes, p. 422, For (زنده پیل), Firdausi has been quoted بتن زنده پیل و بجان جبرئیل.

2 Raverty : *Notes on Afghanistan*, p. 63.

3 Thus, the editor of Ibn-al-Wardi's edition (1/83) reads "زنبيل", while in a passage quoted from *Tarikh-i-Alfi* by Elliot it is given as 'Ranbal' (Elliot, Vol. II/40). But Elliot rightly remarks (II/417) "Nevertheless, there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings of the European authors who have noticed him, show how little the orthography is settled. Ocklay calls him 'Zentile' Weil 'Zenbil', Reinaud 'Rethyl' and 'Zenbyl', Wilson 'Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantil'—variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters, E. Thomas 'Ratpil', Price 'Reteil,' 'Ratteil', or 'Ratpeil'.

4 *Vide* the indices of these works.

5 *Muruj* (Paris Ed. V/302).

6 Cf. *Lisan* and Taj.

7 The word has been used by an early poet of Multan in his *qasida* cited in *Muruj* (Paris Ed. iii/14-16) followed by *al-Nawairi* IX/311-312, and also used by the poet Muti'b. Iyas whose verses are cited by Jahiz in *Kitab-al-Hayawan* (VII/50).

8 Cf. Jahiz (*Kitab-al-Hayawan* VII/50), and al-Jawaliqi under (الزاء), pp. 77-80.

the two words " رتبيل " and " الزنبيل " distinctly in his one and the same work.[1] We have also another conclusive testimony provided by a verse of poet al-Farazdaq, who was actually a contemporary of Ratbil, in which he refers to the ruler of Sijistan by this very name 'Rutbil' :—

"And the outcasts gathered together
When they secured safety from Rutbil and the Shihr[2] "

This verse in original Arabic fixes up the form of pronunciation as 'Rutbil' because the laws of prosody will exclude all other variants like Zantbil or Zinabil of the editors of *Tarikh-e-Seistan* and *Mujmil- al-Tawarikh* as well as of Raverty. Finally, we have the lexicographical evidence which is again conclusive in itself in so far as the author of *Taj-al-Urus* has given the name "رتبيل" under the root (الرتبل) and also adds the interesting information that one Rutbil b. Salih was a traditionalist[3]—a fact which shows that Rutbil was the exact form of the proper noun which was even adopted by the Muslims.

'Rutbil', therefore must be taken to be the original word belonging, perhaps, to the local Turkish dialect of Zabulistan of those days. It was used, in all probability, to connote an honorific title in the same way as 'Khaqan' was used amongst the Western Turks ; for al-Baladhuri clearly refers to these kings as 'Rutbil I, Rutbil II'. Therefore, Raverty's conjectures like 'Ratanpal' etc. based on the conception of a 'Hindu' name of one of these rulers is evidently misplaced. There is also little weight in the arguments advanced by H. C. Ray that the Rutbils were

---

1 Cf. *Muruj* (Paris Ed.) V/302 & III/16-17.

2 "و تراجع الطرداء اذ وثقوا بالامن من رتبيل والشحر"
al-Farazdaq : *Diwan*, edited by Sawi, Cairo, p 325 in the Qasida praising Sulaiman b. Abd-al-Malik ; also cf. *al-Jawaliqi,p — Kitab Ma'ani-al-Shi'r* by al-Ushtandani, p. 73.

3 Vide *Taj* under الرتبل . For the traditions of Rutbil b. Salih cf. al-Dhahbi's *Mushtabih-al-Nisah* الرتبل . I may add here the valuable opinion of Prof. Abdul Aziz al Maimani who has admittedly explored a very wide field of Arabic literature that رتبل (Rutbil) is the common reading obtained in almost all the Arabic works.

Hindu kings.[1] Only in the sense of early terminology employed by the Muslim historians, we may style them as 'kings of India', and for that reason also as the 'kings of the Hindus.' For, the territories of Zabulistan, which all along the East were bounded by India proper and on the south-east by the regions of Sind, were then vaguely styled as 'Indian' territories and at times even as 'Sindian' territories.[2] As such the Rutbils deserved to be called as the kings of the Indian territories. Secondly, just as they were called the 'kings of Sijistan' because they had extended their sway over the outlying Persian province of Sijistan, we may style them as 'kings of India' and for that reason also the 'kings of

---

1 He bases his views on the following three arguments: (i) that al-Baladhuri refers to the image of Zuri" (Bal., p. 394): (ii) and that he styles the people as 'polythesists' (*vide* Bal., pp. 396 & 98): and (iii) thirdly unlike Raverty, Ray considers the word *Rutbil* to be of Turkish origin and, therefore, the line of Rutbils may be identified with the descendants of the Shahis of Kabul whom he probably takes to be Hindus (*vide Dynastic History of Northern India* p. 77, although elsewhere he makes a distinction between the ruler of Kia-pi-Shi, *i.e.* Kabul and the Turki Shahis who were later on supplanted by the Hindu Shahis, cf. pp. 71-72). Now, in the first place, the 'image of Zur' was not' located in any of the territories of the Rutbils (*i.e.* Zabulistan or Ghazna) but in the region of Dawar which was contiguous with Northern Seistan and had never formed a part of the territories of Ghazna though it was contiguous with them (cf. *al-Bada'wa-al-Tarikh*, IV/78). From the earliest times, Dawar was rather under the domination of Persia (cf. *Tarikh Seistan*, pp. 24 25 & I, *Fiqh*, p. 208). Even when the Muslims came across "the image of Zur" within the boundaries of Dawar, it was being ruled by a Persian Maszuban—a fact which is recorded in the same account by al-Baladhuri and yet is ignored by Ray. Moreover, 'Zuri' is not the name of any Indian god and neither it was an image of Budha which is always referred by the Arab historians as 'Budd'. In all probability, 'Zur' was an indigenous god of the heathen Turkish tribes who inhabited Dawar and Ghur with which Dawar was contiguous. (cf. *al-Istakhari*, p. 244, *Hudud al-Alam*, p. 63 and *al-Maqisi*, p. 305). There is evidence to the effect that Turks of Dawar and of the mountainous regions of Ghur used to worship their own mythical god. Even as late as 176 A. H., when during the days of Caliph Harun-al-Rashid, Fazl Barmaki led an expedition against Ghurwand and conquered it he found an idol in the temple of Shah Buhar which these people used to worship. (*Yaqubi*, Buldan, pp. 290-91). Secondly the epithet of 'polytheists' المشركون والكفرة is not restricted to Hindus as Ray erroneously presumes; it could be applied to any people other than the people of the Book (Jews, Christians, etc.) and the Persians who are generally referred by their nationality as "al-Furs". Thirdly, the descendants of Kabulshahis (if at all the Rutbils were their descendants) cannot be regarded as Hindus because the Kabulshahis themselves could, if at all, be regarded as Buddhists. We will not be justified to call the Tibetans of our days who are Turks ethnologically and Buddhist by religion, as Hindus.

2 al-Qalqashandi IV/397, and al-Bakri, *Mu'jam* I/435.

Hindus', because they had subjugated the Hindu chiefs and conquered from them the western fringe of the Indian territory.[1] It is this sense that Masudi styles them as 'kings of India'. This can be substantiated by the movements of Rutbil when he was at war with the Arab armies. We know from *Tarikh-e-Seistan* that when Rutbil was defeated by the energetic Arab Commander Rabi b. Ziyad, he retired from Zabulistan to the land of Hindus [2] (*i.e.* the proper Indian territory) which was presumably under his sway. It is mainly on this ground that less authoritative works even style the Rutbils as the kings of Sind and Kabul[3] because the powerful line of Rutbils dominated the frontiers of Kabul on the north and the frontiers of Sind on the south.[4]

In conclusion, it may be stated that the Rutbils were the kings of Zabulistan proper but due to their conquests in Sijistan on one hand and in India on the other they were often styled as 'kings of Sijistan' or 'kings of India'. These epithets, therefore, are obviously political and in the least ethnological ; for, the Rutbils were neither the Persians of Sijistan nor the Hindus of India.

An important dynastic change among the rulers of Ghazna had probably taken place at the end of the seventh century A.D. It appears that the Shahi dynasty of Zabulistan known as the 'Zabul-Shahis' to whom probably also belonged Shahi-Tigin had been supplanted by the Rutbils by the end of the seventh century. The Shahis of Ghazna have been referred to by the Arab historians by their title as 'Zabulshah' or merely as 'al-Shah' in order to distinguish them from the rulers of Kabul who are invariably referred to as 'Kabul-Shah'. Thus, Tabari describing the kings of the various countries with whom the Muslims were engaged in warfare says : "The people of Egypt used to rally round al-Ajjal or al-Ajjar (or al-Aggal) of (Sind and) Makran round Rasal and Dahar

1 Tabari, I/2592-93 and al-Jawaliqui, p. 73.

2 Tarikh Seistan p. 91. "بزمين هندوان رفت".

3 *Mujmil*, p. 422.

4 Ibn-al-wardi even vaguely styles them as 'kings of Kashmir (*vide* Vol. p. 83) simply because Kashmir lay beyond Zabulistan.

of Eastern Seistan round al-Shah and his relations of Khurasan, and of al-Budd round Khaqan."[1] Al-Shah the ruler of Eastern Sijistan was, indeed, the Zabulshah who was the ruler of Zabulistan, and Rasal held Makran for Dahar the ruler of Sind. As Rasal fought the battle of Makran in 23 A.H. we may presume that at this time when the Muslim armies also attached Seistan, the eastern frontiers of Seistan were guarded by al-Shah, *i.e.* Zabul Shah.

Between 30-45 A.H., a fratricidal struggle seems to have been in full swing among the ruling house of Zabulistan, that is between the Shah and his brother whose name was Rutbil. [2] For, when the Arab General Abd-al-Rahman arrived on its frontiers for the first time by about 33 A.H.,[3] the Shah, instead of fighting, readily concluded a peace treaty with him. But 10 years later, in 43/44 A.H., when Abd-al-Rahmân was appointed for the second time in Sijistan, 'the rulers of Zabulistan' had broken the treaty,[4] a fact which may indicate that by this time Rutbil had gained an upper hand upon his brother, the Shah, and hence also disregarded the treaty that had been concluded by the Shah ; but as yet, Rutbil, probably had not gained sufficient power and hence was defeated by Abd-al-Rahman. However, by about 46/47 A.H.[5] when Rabia b. Ziad was the Governor in Seistan, Rutbil, at the head of a strong army, made a sudden attack on the Seistan front and advanced as far as Bust[6]—a fact which shows that by now Rutbil had completely dominated the Shah who was reduced to a figure head. But during the governorship of Salm b. Ziad Abi Sufyan over Sijistan and Khurasan under the reign of Mu'awiya, the Shah managed to escape from the hands of his brother and

1 Tabari, I/2592-93.

2 Tabari, I/2704-5.

3 Baladhuri, p. 394, I. Athir,III/63.

4 Baladhuri, p. 396. I, Athir, III/221.

5 Ziad b. Abih after his appointment as the Governor of Basra and Iraq (in 45 A.H.), confirmed Abd-al-Rahman for a few months and then replaced him with Rabia b. Ziad al Harthi (Bal. 397 . Governor Ziad took his post in Seistan in 46 A.H. and it was a year later in 47 A.H. that he was engaged in war with Rutbil (*Tarikh Seistan*, p. 91).

6 al-Baladhuri p. 397.

took refuge in Amul Wadan (آمل ودان), a town of Sijistan situated between Zarang and the frontiers of Sijistan, which was under the Government of Salm b. Ziad. Salm concluded a new treaty of friendship with the Shah, settled him in the territories of Amul Wadan and wrote back to Amir Mu'awiya for confirmation.[1] The shrude Amir did not entirely approve of the Governor's policy. According to him, Amul Wadan was strategically situated and was vulnerable to attack and, moreover, these rulers were unscrupulous and did not honour the treaties, and hence they could not be trusted. However, he assented to the treaty made by the Governor Salm who was also his nephew.[2] The Shah now gained sufficient power and prestige under the protection of the Arab Governors of Seistan. But subsequently when the Muslim power became comparatively weak during the last days of Yazid's reign, and particularly after his death (64 A.H.), the Shah forgot all obligations, turned apostate and extended his independent sway over Amul Waden and the adjacent territories.[3] Now old rivalry between Rutbil and the Shah was once more revived. Rutbil began to fear the Shah and took necessary steps to protect himself.[4] This seems to have been the situation by 65/66 A.H. after which the Shah is not heard of any more while Rutbil again rises to power.

The above account gives an idea of the struggle between Rutbil and the Shah whom the former seems to have deposed by 45 A.H. and soon after 65/66 A.H. the latter seems to have lost power. The point to be noted is that the Zabul Shah dynasty was supplanted by the Rutbils in 45 A.H.—a very important dynastic change which took place after the country was visited by Hsuan Tsang.

---

1 Tab. I/2705.

2 *Loc. cit.*

3 *Loc. cit.*

4 *Loc. cit.*

Three Sixteenth Century Sufi Poets of Hindi (Summary)

By

Dr. A. Halim, Dacca

The paper discusses a novel method of propagating the cult of monotheism through simple love stories woven round Hindu mythology, family life and surroundings, and traditions held sacred and laudable by them. The Sufis concerned were Quṭban S͟hayk͟h, writer of *Mrigavati*, Mir Sayyid Manjhan, composer of *Mugdhavati* and Malik Muhammad Jaisi, author of the famous Padmavat.

Qutban Shaykh who completed his work in Samvat, 1558/1501 A.D. dedicated his work to Alauddin Hussain Shah of Bengal, whom he calls one versed in the *Purana* and whose courage and justice he compares to Hindu heroes of the Mahabharata fame—Hussain Shah who was a patron of the Maithila-poet Vidyapati Thakur and Chandidas, the translator of the Ramayana into Bengali. Mir Manjhan lived during the time of the Suri Sultans and was held in great respect as a savant and man of sanctity by Muhammed Adil Shah Sur. Malik Muhammad Jaisi was a man of great sanctity and venerated as a preceptor by the Raja of Amethi. He wrote his work during the reign of Sher Shah Suri. All these works were written in the Awadh dialect of Hindi. Ostensibly these are love stories—a great Prince falling in love with a Hindu Princess, and going in quest of her, suffering untold hardships and at times being sorely dejected and disappointed. But their perseverance gains for them their lady love with whom they live in perfect happiness till death comes to separate the couple, whereupon the widows, unable to bear the pangs of separation commit *Sati*, and join their partners in spirit.

Interpreted in a mystical and allegorical way, each of the characters of the story and each episode described, conforms to a Salik or a traveller in the way of Truth. God is personified as the lady love for whose quest the seeker suffers pain and miseries and gains Him through spiritual efforts and when the Salik dies his spirit gets absorbed in the effulgent light as a particle or ray does with the Great Light. He gets absorbed in the Great Light and lives with it in perpetuity (*Baqa*).

جنگ آزادی

۱۸۵۷ء کے ما بعد اثرات اور ضلع بدایون

از مولوی محمد سلیمان بدایونی

سر زمین ہند پر یوروپین طاقتوں میں سب سے پہلے پرتگیز آئے اور ۱۳ ستمبر ۱۵۰۰ء کو کالی کٹ میں تجارتی کاروبار شروع کیا۔ مسلمانوں کی تجارت میں پرتگیز مخل ہوئے ۱ اور انپر مظالم شروع کئے۔ ہندوستان پر مختلف اوقات میں مختلف اقوام و سلاطین نے حملے کئے ان فاتحین میں بیشتر تعداد ایسے حملہ آوروں کی تھی جنھوں نے روپیہ وصول کیا ایک مقررہ خراج کا وعدہ لیا اور چلے گئے ان بیرونی حملہ آوروں کا اثر سارے ملک پر نہوتا تھا کیونکہ ملک اس وقت چھوٹی بڑی متعدد ریاستوں میں منقسم تھا اور ہر رئیس اپنی ریاست کا مالک و مختار تھا۔

سب سے پہلے بیرونی اقوام سے آریہ آئے اور یہیں رہ پڑے اور اس ملک کو اپنا ملک اور وطن بنا لیا۔

آریوں کے آنے کے ایک عرصہ دراز کے بعد عرب مسلمان حملہ آور براہ سندھ داخل ہند ہوئے۔ شہروں کو فتح کیا۔ اکثر شہروں کو بدستور اپنے مفتوحین کے قبضہ میں رکھا بڑے بڑے مناصب اور انعامات سے نوازا ۲ کسی طرح کی مداخلت و مزاحمت

---

(۱) ملیبار مصنف حکیم سید شمس اللہ قادری ص ۶۰

(۲) تحفتہ المجاہدین مترجمہ حکیم سید شمس اللہ قادری ص ۳۷

بت پرست مفتوحین کے مذہب میں نہیں کی ۔ رواداری اور حسن سلوک کی شاید ہی کوئی دوسری ایسی مثال مل سکے ۔ محمد بن قاسم کو حجاج نے نیرون [1] کے باشندوں کی بابتہ لکھا تھا ۔ کہ

"ہر طرح لوگوں پر مہربانی کرو اور
اونہیں ہماری سر پرستی کی امیدیں دلاؤ،،

برہمن آباد کے مندر کے پجاریوں کی درخواست کے سلسلے میں حجاج نے محمد بن قاسم کو لکھا تھا ۲ ۔

" تمہارا خط ملا ۔ مضامین سے آگاہی ہوئی برہمن آباد کے ہندو ملتجی ہیں کہ مندروں کو آباد رکھیں اور اپنے آبائی مذہب پر عمل در آمد کی اجازت دیجاوے ۔ جب یہ لوگ ہماری اطاعت قبول کرکے جزیہ ادا کرتے ہیں تو پھر اونکے مذہبی یا خانگی معاملات میں ہم کو دخل دینے کی ضرورت نہیں ہے ۔ ان کی جان کی حفاظت ہمارا فرض ہے اور اون کے مال پر کوئی شخص دست درازی نہ کرے کیونکہ وہ سب ہماری حمایت اور پناہ میں ہیں،،

شمالی ہند کے حملے دولت غزنویہ کے اپنی دشمنوں کی قوت اور قرامطہ کے استیصال کو تھے ۔

غوری نے شمالی ہند کو فتح کرکے اپنا مستقل گورنر رکھا سنہ ۱۲۰۵ء میں تخت دہلی پر پہلا مسلم بادشاہ قطب الدین ایبک ہوا ۔

---

(۱) چچ نامہ مترجمہ محمد حفیظ الرحمن ص ۱۱
(۲) چچ نامہ ص ۲۱۹ و تاریخ سندہ سید ابوظفر ندوی ص ۹۳ ۔

اسوقت سے مسلم سلاطین ہند کا قرار و قیام یہی سر زمین رہی اور جو کچھہ آمدنی ہوتی وہ یہاں خرچ ہوتی ایک پیسہ بھی آمدنی کا بیرون ملک نہ جاتا جو صناع یا فاضل و عالم۔ دست کار یا کسی خصوصی فن و علم کا ماہر آتا وہ اس ملک کو اپنا گھر اور وطن بناتا اور جو کچھہ کسب معیشت کرتا وہ یہاں کا یہیں رہتا اس ملک کی دولت کے باہر جانے کا سوال ہی نہوا۔

انگریز یہاں تجارت کرنے کو آیا بلکہ جتنی یورپین قومیں داخل ہند ہوئیں بحیثیت سوداگر کے اونکا مطمح نظر روپیہ پیدا کرنا اور اپنے اپنے ملکوں کو کھینچ کر لے جانا تھا اسلئے اون میں جہاں بانوں اور جہاں داروں والی شان نہ تھی مگر ساتھہ ساتھہ وہ یہانپر صرف تاجر ہی نہیں رہنا چاہتے تھے اونکا مقصد ملک میں اقتدار و اختیار حاصل کرنے کا بھی تھا تاکہ اونکی تجارت میں نفع خوری اور زر کشی بلا روک ٹوک ہو۔

اس ملک کے عوام و خواص پادشاہوں۔ نوابوں۔ راجوں کی زر پاشی۔ انعامات۔ عطیات کے خوگر ہو رہے تھے ۱ قطب‌الدین ایبک کو اوس کی فیاضی کی بناء پر ”لک بخش،، کہتے تھے انگریز کے پاس ایسی داد و دهش کا پتہ نہ تھا۔ اس کو آپس میں لڑوانا اور حکومت کرنا آتا تھا۔ اس نے اس اصول پر ہندوستان پر اقتدار حاصل کیا۔ اس کے اس نکتہ کو سب سے اول سلطان شہید ٹیپو نے سمجھا اور اتحاد بین السلاطین کی انتہائی سعی کی مگر نظام اور سلطان سلیم ٹرکی متحد و موافق نہ ہوئے۔

---

(۱) تاریخ فرشتہ جلد اول

بالاخر انگریز اپنی شاطرانہ تدبیروں سے ملک ہند کے طول و عرض پر قابض و متصرف ہو گئے۔

اب لوگوں میں احساس شروع ہو کر ناراضگی پھیلی جس کے اسباب سلطنت اودہ کے الحاق پر جو وعدے کئے ۱ اس کی خلاف ورزی - اعلانات کے خلاف مالگذاری میں اضافہ - تعلقہ داران کو نظر انداز کر کے کاشتکاران سے براہ راست بند و بست کی کاروائی کرنا جس کا اثر تعلقہ داران کی آمدنیوں پر یہ ہوا کہ نصف رہ گئی - شاہی خاندان کے وظیفہ خواروں سے بدتمیزی کا سلوک - فوجی سپاہیوں کو مجبور کر کے بیروں ملک بھیجنا جس پر ہندو سپاہی بارہا عذر کر چکے تھے - انگریز افسروں کی سخت گیری قانون وراثت کی تنسیخ - بیاہ و شادی کے قاعدوں کا بدلنا - مذہبی رسم و رواج کی توہین - عبادت گاہوں کے وقف ضبط کرنا - سرکاری کاغذات میں کافر لکھنا - تکلیف دے کر مالگذاری وصول کرنا وغیرہ ملکی مصنوعات کو برباد کرنا جس سے بیکاری و افلاس بڑھا -

تبلیغ عیسائیت کے مساعی میں ایک اقتباس قابل توجہ ہے ۲ -

''ہر ممکن صورت سے اس مفلوک ملک (ہند) کو مذہبی حیثیت سے ہی فتح کرنے کی ہر ممکن کوشش کی گئی - کمپنی کی تائید و اعانت سے مذہب مسیحی کی تنظیم و ترقی عمل میں آتی رہی - ملک کے طول و عرض میں ہر

(۱) مسلمانوں کا روشن مستقبل مطبوعہ ۱۹۴۰ء ص ۸۶ و ۸۷
(۲) '' ندائے حرم ،، ماہنامہ رجب و شعبان سنہ ۱۳۷۰ھ عدد ۷ و ۸ جلد ۱۱ ص ۵ -

جگہ اس تنظیم کے آثار قائم کئے گئے - چرچ مشن سوسائٹی - بائبل سوسائٹی - مشن فنڈ - مشن ہسپتال - مشن کالج اور مدارس جا بجا قایم ہوئے - مذہبی کتابوں اور اخبارات و رسائل کی اشاعت کے ذریعہ عوام کے رحجانات و عقائد کو بدلنے کی مہم جاری کی گئی یہ صرف مذہبی جد و جہد نہ تھی بلکہ خود حکومت (کمپنی) کی ملکی سیاست اور عملی تحریک بھی شریک تھی مشنریوں کو مالی امداد دی جاتی تھی اور ممتاز حکام اُن کی ہر ممکن سر پرستی کو اپنا فرض منصبی سمجھتے تھے - حکام وقت کا اثر و رسوخ کوئی معمولی چیز نہیں - اسلئے مسیحی تحریک کو یہاں تک تقویت پہونچ چکی تھی کہ دھلی میں سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں عہدہ بشپ قایم کرنے کا سوال پیش ہوا تو اُس وقت یہ تجویز بھی مد نظر تھی کہ جامع مسجد دھلی کو گرجا گھر بنا دیا جائے اس صورت حال کا ناگزیر اثر تھا کہ ھند قدیم میں خاص طور پر مسلمانوں کو انگریزی حکومت سے تنفر پیدا ہوا -

ان سب پر مستزاد چربی والے کارتوسوں کے استعمال پر فوجیوں کو مجبور کرنا جسکو ھندو اور مسلم متفقہ طور سے خلاف مذھب یقین کرتے ھیں - اب وہ پھوڑا جو عرصہ سے پک رہا تھا پھوٹ گیا انگریز کے خلاف ھندوستانی فوج نے ھتیار اوٹھائے عوام و خواص اور خصوصیت سے علماء کے طبقہ نے تحریک میں عملی حصہ لیا انگریز کو ملک بدر کرنے کا عزم بالجزم کرکے ہر طرح کی مالی و جانی قربانی پیش کی - تحریک اپنوں کی

بے وفائی اور ٹھیک تنظیم کی کمی سے ناکامیاب ہوئی - انگریز نے ملک پر قابو پا کر آنکھیں بند کر کے انتقام لینا شروع کیا کوئی ظلم و ستم بر بریت و بہمیت کا مظاہرہ باقی نہ رہا جو نہ کیا گیا ہو دو یک مثالیں خود انگریزوں کی لکھی ہوئی ملاحظہ ہوں - مسٹر موبری تھامسن کہتا ہے کہ ۱ -

" شام کے وقت ایک سکھ اردلی میرے پاس آیا اور سلام کر کے پوچھنے لگا آپ غالباً یہ دیکھنا پسند کریں گے کہ ہم نے قیدیوں کیساتھ کیا سلوک کیا ہے یہ خیال کرتے ہوئے کہ کہیں قیدیوں کیساتھ زیادتی نہ کی گئی ہو میں لپک کر ان کے خیمے میں گیا جہاں میں نے ان بدبخت مسلمانوں کو عالم نزع میں بے حال دیکھا یعنی مشکیں باندھ کر آنکو زمین پر لٹایا ہوا تھا اور سر سے لے کر پاؤں تک تمام جسم گرم تانبے سے داغ دیا تھا اس روح فرسا نظارے کو دیکھ کر میں نے اپنی پستول سے آن کا خاتمہ کر دینا ہی مناسب سمجھا " -

ایک دوسرا اقتباس اسی کتاب کے صفحہ ۶۸ پر حسب ذیل ہے -

" زندہ مسلمانوں کو سور کی کھال میں سینا یا پھانسی سے پہلے آن کے جسم پر سور کی چربی ملنا یا زندہ آگ میں جلانا یا ہندوستانیوں کو مجبور کرنا کہ وہ ایک دوسرے کیساتھ بد فعلی کریں " -

سزا کی ایک اور مثال مہذب انگریز کے کار نامے کی سنئے -

" لڑائی کے اختتام پر بہت سے قیدیوں کو پھانسی پر لٹکایا گیا - اور یہ معلوم کر کے کہ اس قسم کی موت

---

(۱) انقلاب ۱۸۵۷ء، تصویر کا دوسرا رخ ۶۵ء ۶۶ -

کی وہ پرواہ نہیں کرتے - ان میں سے چار آدمیوں کو فوجی عدالت کے حکم سے توپوں سے باندہ دیا گیا - چنانچہ ایک روز توپ کے بہت بڑے دھماکے کی آواز سے ہم چونک پڑے جس کے ساتھہ ایک ناقابل بیان دھیمی مگر وحشت ناک چیخ بھی سنائی دی - دریافت کرنے پر ایک افسر نے ہمیں بتایا کہ یہ ایک نہایت کرب انگیز نظارہ تھا - یعنی ایک توپ میں اتفاق سے بارود زیادہ بھردی تھی - جس کے چلانے سے بد قسمت ملازم کا گوشت ریزہ ریزہ ہو کر فضائے آسمانی میں اوڑا اور تماشائیوں پر خون کے چھینٹے اور گوشت کے ٹکڑے گرے اور اس کا سر ایک راہ رو پر اس زور سے گرا کہ اس کے بھی سخت چوٹ لگی ،، -

ہندوستانی جو ابتک انگریز کو کلہ بہ کلہ جواب دیتا تھا کیونکہ وہ ڈھنڈوریہ کے زبان سے بھانگ دھل سنتا تھا خلق خدا کی' ملک بادشاہ کا' حکم کمپنی کا' مگر انگریز کے بھیمانہ طریقہ سزا کو سنکر اور دیکھکر اور خصوصیت سے مغل شہزادوں کو جس بے رحمی اور بیدردی سے ھڈ سن نے قتل کیا کانپ اور ڈر گیا - خاص طور سے انگریز کو مسلمان سے خصومت و نفرت تھی اسوجہ سے وہ نقصان اور ٹوٹے میں رہا اس نے اپنے اور اپنے بھائیوں پر مظالم ٹوٹتے دیکھے ہیں کافی خوف زدہ ہو گیا تھا - وہ اب دوسروں کا سہارا اور آڑ معمولی سی بات میں لینے لگا - صوبہ متحدہ کے شہر بدایوں (روہلکھنڈ) کے قصبہ ککرالہ میں جو بدایوں سے گیارہ میل مشرق میں ھے مجاھدین اور انگریز کی فوج میں لڑائی

(۱) ڈسٹرکٹ گزیٹر بدایوں و کنزالتاریخ ص ۴۴۳

ہوئی جنرل پینی ۱ مارا گیا انگریز نے تسلط کے بعد ککراله میں ایک مرتبه سے زاید آگ دی لوگوں کو گولیوں سے اوڑا یا کوئی ظلم ایسا نه تھا جو قصبه پر نه توڑا گیا ضلع میں جو مظالم مسلمانوں پر ہوئے اونکے بیان سے قلب کانپتا ھے ایک عرصه تک یه ڈر اور خوف طاری رہا ۔

۱۶ اپریل سنه ۱۸۵۹ء کو ایک درخواست ایک بیوہ نے دی تھی جس کی تفصیل آگے آتی ھے اوس بیوہ نے اور اس کے مشیران نے درخواست متذکرہ میں تمام ھندؤں کو اپنی صفائی اور تائید میں نامزد کیا ھے کسی ایک مسلمان کا نام درخواست کی تائید میں نہیں لیا ھے ۔

سنه ۱۸۵۸ء کی قید و بند ۔ دار و رسن سے چھٹکارا پا کر جب ہوش و حواس درست ہوئے تب جدید آنے والی تکالیف و پریشانیوں کا احساس ھوا اور اونکے دفعیه کی تدابیر و تراکیب اور علاج سوچنے شروع کئے اور اونپر کار بند ھونے کو عملی جامه پہنایا جانے لگا ۔ مختلف صورتیں اختیار کرنا پڑیں ۔ انہیں مصایب میں سے ایک مصیبت کو معه اس کی تدبیر کے پیش کیا جاتا ھے ۔

واقعه یه ھے ایک بی‌بی امیرالنساء نامی محله شہبازپور من محلات بدایوں کی زمیندار نمبردار تھی مبلغ پانسو روپیه سالانه کی مالگذار تھی ۔

ہنگامه سنه ۱۸۵۷ء سے قبل کے حسابات بقایا مالگذاری ذمگی امیرالنساء صاف نه تھے دو باره انگریزی تسلط ھونے پر کل زر

---

(۱) محمد شفیع ۱۸۵۷ء ص ۱۹۷

مالگذاری اگلا پچھلا یکمشت طلب کیا گیا - مسماۃ کو زر مالگذاری پر کوئی عذر نہ تھا - حسابات کی صحت اور یکمشت اور ایک ساتھ کے ادا کرنے پر عذر تھا جسکو اس نے درخواست تحریری ۱۶ اپریل سنہ ۱۸۵۹ء کو ڈسٹرکٹ مجسٹریٹ بدایوں مسٹر کار میکل کے سامنے پیش کیا ھے جسکا عکس آیندہ صفحات پر ھے -

شہباز پور کا محلہ قدیم شہر سے مشرق میں ھے - قدیم شہر وہ ھے جو حدود قلعہ کے اندر آباد ھے قلعہ اگرچہ مسمار ہوکر ختم ہو گیا مگر ابتک کچھہ آثار باقی ھیں - اس قلعہ کی تعمیر ہندو راجہ نے کی تھی جس کے تین دروازہ تھے مشرقی - شمالی اور جنوبی، مشرقی شمالی گوشہ میں قلعہ کے ایک کھڑکی تھی جسکو چھڑیا کہتے ھیں اسی نسبت سے اس کھڑکی کے باہر کا حصہ اسوقت تک چھڑیا تلا مشہور ھے -

کھڑکی (چھڑیا) سے ایک فرلانگ پر مشرق کی سمت میں محلہ شہبازپور آباد ھے اس محلہ کو شیخ چاند المعروف بہ شہباز خاں ولد نواب اخلاص خاں (شیخ اللہ دیا) شیخ فاروقی فریدی نے اپنے نام پر آباد کیا - محلسرائے تعمیر کرائی جو آج بڑے دروازہ کے نام سے شہرت پذیر ھے - اسمیں شیخ کی اولادالاولاد آباد تھی - حال کے انقلاب نے سب کو گھر سے بے گھر کر دیا - اس محلہ کے شیوخ میں اکثریت فاروقی فریدی شیوخ کی ھے - شہر کے سب محلوں سے یہ محلہ بڑا ھے - سنہ ۱۸۷۲ء کی مردم شماری کے وقت یہاں کی آبادی ۲۰۵۶ تھی - ۱

---

(۱) عمدۃ التاریخ

امیرالنساء بی بی اس خاندان کی فرد ھیں نواب اخلاص کے چچا نواب فرید کی اولاد شیخوپور میں شہبازپور کے جانب جنوب تین میل کے فاصلہ پر سوت ندی کے پارسکونت پذیر ھے اسوقت تک ھر دو جگہ کے حضرات میں قرابتین ھیں ۔

درخواست بادیالنظر میں معمولی ھے کہ بقایا اقساط سے وصول کی جاوے مگر اسوقت کا ماحول اور پر اشوب زمانہ ایسی ھی درخواست کا مقتضی تھا امیرالنساء کافی زمانہ شناس معلوم ھوتی ھے ۔

اولاً اس نے درخواست میں یہ بتایا ھے کہ اوسکا زاید روپیہ قبل غدر جب منشی پریم سنگھ تحصیلدار تھے اور منشی بنسیدھر واصلباقی نویس تھے داخل خزانہ ھو گیا ھے وہ رقم مطلوبہ میں مجرا دیا جاوے۔ اور کچھہ روپیہ (شیخ) شرفالدین تحصیلدار کے زمانہ میں تسلط انگریزی ھونے پر داخل کیا ھے وہ مجرا کیا جاوے ۔ شیخ شرفالدین سی ۔ آئی ۔ ای (C. I. E.) رئیس شیخوپور کو عارضی تحصیلدار مسٹر واسن نے بدایوں پر قبضہ کرتے ھی مقرر کر دیا تھا ۔

اس کے بعد درخواست میں اپنے بہن۔ بھائی اور اعزا کی خدمات کا تذکرہ کیا ھے ان لوگوں نے دوران ھنگامہ سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء میں شہر کی حفاظت کرکے شہر کو ڈاکوں کی دست درازی اور لوٹ سے بچایا ۔

اس کا اشارہ موضع بکسینہ کے ٹھاکر ھلی سنگھ کے حملہ سے ھے ۔ واقعہ یہ تھا کہ نواب خاں بہادر خاں نے روھیلکنڈ کی عنان حکومت لے کر عبدالرحمن خاں کو بدایوں کا ناظم مقرر کیا اور امراےسنگھ ٹھاکر موضع بھٹولی کو داتا گنج کا تحصیلدار مقرر کیا

EIGHT ANAS

আট আনা

آٹھ آنہ

COPY

COLNT

[illegible]

عرضی [illegible]

خداوند [illegible] ذات حضور کو واسطے رفاہ [illegible] اور داد رسی [illegible] کے قائم [illegible]

رعایائے ایں جوار کے عدل گستری [illegible] حضور سے امید [illegible] حضور [illegible] عدل گستری [illegible] حضور [illegible]

[illegible] اور جمیع حاکمان [illegible] حضور [illegible]

[illegible] زمینداری [illegible]

[illegible] سرکار سے [illegible] زمیندار [illegible]

[illegible] سرکار [illegible]

[illegible] داخل ہو گیا تھا [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] نہیں [illegible] زمیندار ہو کر [illegible]

[illegible] حضور [illegible]

[illegible] زمینداری [illegible] اور [illegible]

[illegible] زبان

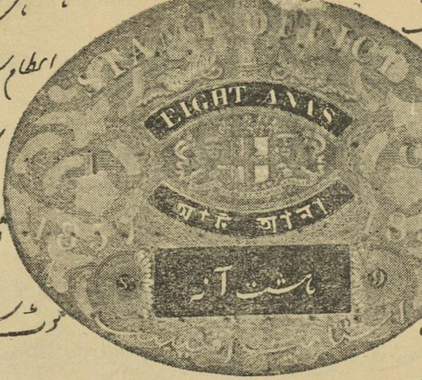
دعداران ساہ راہ سمبار پور دروازہ تک گئے ہیں اور آگے سہر کے ہیں در واسطہ لوٹ کے ... عادت تھا

اور سہر لوٹ کو ملی ... انتظام سرکار کے ... برس ہو گئے

تو سرکار کو ... اسبھار کیا جاوے دو ملی

حالات ... داخلہ ساہ راہ دروازہ

... کو لوٹ سہر اور ... گری کو آیا



اور ہواروں دروازہ ... گئے ... تھے ... عزیز الدین ... مسیح الدین ... الدین وغیرہ

۳۱۵ ... سمبار پور ... داخلہ ... دعداران ... ہزار کے آدمی ... سہر میں ... داخلہ ... ان

۶ ... ہو کر ... واسطہ لوٹ سہر اور ... تباہ ... کو ... حضور ... اور

... سہر لوٹ ... اور ... مقام غدر ... حضور ... گرد ... ہار

... سمبار ... والا ... سردار ... کار

... مختار ... اسبھار ... مختار ...

... اور ... عزیز الدین ... مسیح الدین ... وغیرہ ...

سمبار پور ... عزیز الدین ... مسیح الدین ... وغیرہ ... سمبار پور ...

... مقام غدر ... وغیرہ ... برابر ... حق المقدور

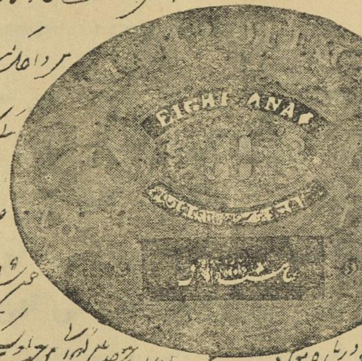
... کو ... اور ... سردار ... غدر ... کر دیا

... واسطہ ... مقام غدر ...

اور ... الف ——— ... مقصود ...

حالات ... ——— ... سردار وغیرہ کو

... تباہ برباد ہو گئے ... انتظام سرکاری اور ... عسیان


EIGHT ANAS

[illegible]

موضع یکسینہ کے ٹھاکر ھلی سنگھ اور اُس کے اعزا کو خاندانی رقابت کیوجہ سے یہ تقرر ناگوار گذرا ۔ انہوں نے ھلی سنگھ کی قیادت میں اپنی ایک حکومت قایم کی ۔ ھلی سنگھ نے اپنا خطاب دھپودھام اختیار کیا اور قوم اُس کو بادشاہ کہتی اوس نے بدایوں کو لوٹنے کے لئے چڑھائی کی تھی وہ پس پا کردیا گیا تھا۔

اس امر کی تائید میں کہ اس واقعہ کو سر انجام پہونچانے والے اور بدایوں کو لوٹ سے بچانے والے مسماۃ کے اعزا تھے اکیس معزز ھندوں کے نام بتائے ھیں اور خصوصیت سے خفیہ نویس سرکاری کا نام لیا ھے ۔ اس امر پر بھی زور دیا ھے کہ مسٹر ایڈورد کلکٹر بدایوں جب بدایوں سے روپوش ھو کر شیخوپور شیخ شرف الدین کے پہونچے انہوں نے اپنی حفاظت میں صاحب کو اُن کے کہنے پر ضلع ایٹہ اپنے اعزاء کی نگرانی میں پہونچوایا ، اس میں تفضل حسین معہ اپنے بھائی کے ساتھہ تھا یہ شیخ صاحب کے اعزاء سے تھے اور مسماۃ کا رشتہ‌دار قریبی تھا ایک اور کارگذاری جتائی کہ اوس کے کارندہ بینی‌رام نامی نے مسٹر ایرتھہ (Erith) کو اپنی حفاظت میں موضع گدھول پہونچایا ۔

ایرتھہ کی پناہ دھی۲ کا انعام موضع گدھول کے ٹھاکر ھمت سنگھ کو دیا گیا تھا ۔

درخواست میں زمینداری تین مواضعات میں بتائی ھے یہ مواضعات تحصیل بدایوں کے ھیں تینوں شہر کے جانب شرف داتا گنج والی پختہ سڑک سے قریب میں یہ مواضعات ھیں ۔ موضع اوترنا

---

(۱) لائل محمڈنس آف انڈیا سر سید احمد خاں

(۲) گزیٹر بدایوں

اسوجہ سے قابل ذکر ہے کہ وہ ایک تاریخی ، عظمت و اہمیت کا مالک ہے اس کی وجہ تسمیہ حالات دیہی میں یہ لکھی ہے کہ زمانہ ما سبق میں یہانپر گنگا بہتی تھی یہانپر (گھاٹ) آوتار تھا۔ گنگا تو زمانہ کی رد و بدل سے اٹھارہ میل پر پہونچی مگر جگہ کا نام اوتار سے موضع آترنا مشہور ہو گیا۔ گھاٹ کیوجہ سے آبادی تو تھی ھی موضع آترنا اسوقت تک موجود ہے اور ایک قدیمی قلعہ کی یاد اپنے دل میں چھپائے ہوئے ہے جس کے آثار میں ایک ٹیلہ باقی ہے جسمیں سے اینٹیں نکلتی ھیں آنکی لمبائی چوڑائی مشابہت رام نگر تحصیل آنولہ ضلع بریلی کی اینٹوں سے ہے ماہر آثار قدیمہ کی رائے رام نگر کی بابت دو تین ہزار برس کا ہونے کی ہے۔

مولوی نہال الدین صاحب ایڈوکیٹ بدایوں کو حال میں تین سکہ تانبے کے موضع آترنا کے ٹیلہ سے ملے ھیں دو سکونپر ترسول منقش ہے جس کی بابت یہ قیاس ہے کہ وہ ھندو راجاؤں کا سکہ ہے تیسرا سکہ سلطان غیاث الدین کا ہے آسپر ایک طرف غیاث الدینا و الدین منقش ہے دوسری طرف سلطان الاعظم۔

۱۶ نومبر سنہ ۱۹۵۷ء کو محکمہ اثار قدیمہ کراچی پاکستان سکریٹریٹ میں جا کر ہم نے سکہ جات کا کیٹلاگ دیکھا اوس میں غیاث الدین بلبن کے سکہ مسی پر الفاظ بالاسرقوم ھیں غیاث الدین تغلق کے سکہ مسی پر ایک طرف لفظ " تغلق " اور دوسری طرف " شاہ " منقوش ہے۔ اسصورت میں یہ بالکل صاف ہے کہ یہ سکہ بلبن کا ہے تغلق کا نہیں ہے۔

---

(۱) بدایوں نمبر اپریل سنہ ۱۹۵۶ء۔

درخواست میں یہ بھی کہا ہے کہ دوران ہنگامہ میں موضع سروا میں آگ لگادی موضع جلکر خاکستر ہوگیا بہت نقصان ہوا یہ سب حالات جتا اور بتا کر استدعا کی کہ جسقدر مجرائی زر مدخلہ سابقہ کے بعد ذمہ مستغیثہ عاید ہو اوس کی قسطیں کردیجاویں سرشتہ کی رپورٹ مسماۃ کے موافق تھی لہذا حکم ہوا کہ زر مطابہ ذمگی امیرالنساء بالاقساط وصول کیا جاوے۔

—o:—

مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی تاریخی مطبوعات

از محمد ایوب قادری

بر صغیر پاک و ہند کو انگریزی حکومت کے قیام کے بعد جہاں اور بہت سی چیزیں ملیں ان میں ایک مفید اور کار آمد چیز پریس بھی ہے پریس نے علوم و فنون کی اشاعت میں بڑا کام کیا ہے - بر صغیر میں پریس اٹھارھویں صدی میں قائم ہونے شروع ہوئے اور جلد ہی ملک میں پریسوں کا ایک جال سا پھیل گیا یہاں ہمیں روہیل کھنڈ کے ایک قدیم پریس ''مطبع صدیقی بریلی،، اور اس کی مطبوعات کا جائزہ لینا مقصود ہے - بریلی (روہیل کھنڈ) میں سب سے پہلا مطبع سنہ ۱۸۴۷ء میں قائم ہوا ۱ یہ گورنمنٹ پریس تھا - سرکاری کاغذات و مطبوعات اسی مطبع میں چھپتی تھیں بلکہ مرادآباد و بدایوں کا سرکاری کام بھی اسی مطبع میں ہوتا تھا کیونکہ اسوقت تک ان مقامات پر کوئی اور مطبع نہ تھا سنہ ۱۸۴۹ء میں بریلی میں دوسرا مطبع عمدۃ الاخبار قائم ہوا - اس مطبع سے عمدۃ الاخبار نکلتا تھا جس کے ایڈیٹر لچھمن پرشاد تھے - ۲

---

(۱) ''تواریخ ضلع بریلی،، از منشی گلزاری لال (قلمی) مملوکہ نیشنل میوزیم آف پاکستان کراچی -

(۲) مطبع عمدۃ الاخبار بریلی کی ایک مطبوعہ کتاب ''تاریخ پنجاب مسمی بہ گلشن پنجاب مولف پنڈت دیبی پرشاد طالب علم سابق مدرسہ سرکاری بریلی (سنہ ۱۸۵۰ء) پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی کے کتب خانہ (کراچی) میں موجود ہے مشہور مستشرق گارسان و تاسی کا یہ بیان درست نہیں کہ سنہ ۱۸۵۲ء تک بریلی میں صرف ایک ہی مطبع تھا جیسا کہ خطبات گارسان و تاسی صفحہ ۳۰ (مطبوعہ انجمن ترقی اردو اورنگ آباد) میں تحریر ہے -

نومبر سنہ ۱۸۰۱ء میں روھیل کھنڈ نواب وزیر سعادت علی خاں والی اودہ سے انگریزوں کو ملا - آھستہ آھستہ نظم و نسق قائم ھوا - تعلیم کی طرف بھی توجہ دی گئی - سنہ ۱۸۳۷ء میں بریلی میں سرکاری اسکول کا قیام ھوا۱ - سنہ ۱۸۴۲ء میں اس اسکول کی عمارت بننی شروع ھوئی اور سنہ ۱۸۴۳ء میں اتمام کو پھونچی ۲ بریلی کے اس اسکول کو خوب ترقی ھوئی - سنہ ۱۸۵۰ء میں بریلی کا یہ اسکول کالج بنا دیا گیا اور صدر شعبہ فارسی مولانا محمد احسن ۳ نانوتوی مقرر ھوئے جو اس سے قبل بنارس کالج میں اسی عہدہ پر فائز تھے - مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی دھلی کالج کے تعلیم یافتہ تھے نہایت لائق اور فاضل شخص تھے تصنیف و تالیف کا بھی ذوق تھا - ان کی سب سے پہلی تصنیف تحفتہ المحصنین سنہ ۱۲۶۵ھ (سنہ ۱۸۴۹ء) میں بنارس سے شائع ھوئی - انقلاب سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے بعد مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی نے بریلی میں مطبع صدیقی قائم کیا - مطبع کا صحیح سال قیام تو معلوم نہ ھوسکا مگر مولانا محمد احسن کی قلمی بیاض سے معلوم ھوتا ھے کہ

---

(۱) تواریخ ضلع بریلی از منشی گلزاری لال -

(۲) ڈسٹرکٹ گزیٹیر بریلی (سنہ ۱۹۰۷ء) -

(۳) مولانہ محمد احسن ولد حافظ لطف علی نانوتہ ضلع سہارنپور وطن ھے ابتدائی تعلیم اپنے والد سے پائی پھر مولانا مملوک علی، مولوی سبحان بخش، مولانا احمد علی محدث سہارنپوری اور شاہ عبدالغنی مجددی سے علوم معقول و منقول کی تحصیل کی بنارس و بریلی کالج میں فارسی و عربی کے پروفیسر رھے بہت سی کتابوں کے مصنف و مترجم ھیں سنہ ۱۳۱۲ھ - ۱۸۹۴ء سنہ میں دیوبند میں انتقال ھوا -

مطبع صدیقی کا قیام ستمبر سنہ ۱۸۶۲ء سے قبل ہوچکا تھا - شروع میں مولانا مطبع کی آمدنی سے صرف بارہ روپیہ ماھانہ لیتے تھے باقی آمدنی مطبع ھی میں لگ جاتی تھی - یہ مطبع مولانا محمد احسن اور اون کے چھوٹے بھائی مولوی محمد منیر[1] کی شرکت میں تھا مطبع کے مہتمم مولوی محمد منیر تھے اور مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی مطبوعات پر مولوی محمد منیر ھی کا نام بطور مہتمم مطبع چھپتا تھا - مولانا محمد احسن کا قیام محلہ خواجہ قطب (بریلی) میں تھا اور اسی محلہ میں شروع میں یہ مطبع بھی تھا - مطبع میں دو دستی مشینیں تھیں - جس مکان میں مطبع تھا وہ آج بھی چھاپہ خانہ والا مکان مشہور ھے اور عزیز میاں صاحب سجادہ نشیں خانقاہ نیازیہ کے قبضہ میں ھے - مطبع صدیقی بریلی کے مستقل کاتب منشی مٹھولال تھے جنہوں نے ازالتہ الخفاء وغیرہ جیسی معرکتہ الارا کتابوں کی کتابت کی ھے پھر یہ مطبع محلہ درزی چوک میں منتقل ھو گیا -

مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے ولی اللہی حکمت و فلسفہ کی خوب نشر و اشاعت ھوئی گویا یہ ادارہ ”شاہ ولی اللہی اکیڈیمی،، تھا - حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ دھلوی کی اکثر معرکتہ الارا تصنیفات

---

(۱) مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی کے حقیقی چھوٹے بھائی تھے سنہ ۱۸۳۱ء میں نانوتہ میں پیدا ھوئے ابتدائی تعلیم اپنے والد حافظ لطف علی سے پائی پھر دھلی پہونچکر مولانا مملوک علی نانوتوی مفتی صدرالدین آزردہ اور شاہ عبدالغنی مجددی دھلوی سے جملہ علوم کی تکمیل کی - مولانا محمد منیر، جنگ آزادی سنہ ۱۸۵۷ء کے ایک سرگرم کارکن اور مجاھد تھے جہاد شاملی میں شریک رھے - ۱۳ مئی سنہ ۱۸۶۱ء کو بریلی کالج میں ملازم ھوئے دو سال دارالعلوم دیو بند کے مہتمم رھے ان سے دو کتابیں سراج السالکین (ترجمہ منہاج العابدین) اور فوائد غریبہ یادگار ھیں -

حجۃ اللہ البالغہ، ازالۃ الخفا عن خلافۃ الخلفا وغیرہ اسی مطبع سے طبع و شائع ہوئیں ۔ ان مطبوعات کی اشاعت میں منشی جمال الدین[1] مدارالمہام ریاست بھوپال نے مولانا محمد احسن کی بڑی مدد کی خود منشی جمال الدین بھی شاہ ولی اللہی خاندان کے فیض یافتہ تھے منشی صاحب ھی کی وجہ سے ریاست بھوپال میں تبلیغ دین و سنت کا بڑا کام ہوا مولانا نواب صدیق حسن خاں المتوفی سنہ ۱۳۰۷ھ نے اس دینی تحریک کو اور چار چاند لگا دئیے حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ دھلوی کی تصانیف کے علاوہ بہت سا مذہبی، علمی اور تاریخی لڑیچر اس مطبع سے طبع و شائع ھوا ۔ اس میں اکثر تصنیفات رد شرک و بدعات میں تھیں مطبع صدیقی سے جو کتاب بھی شایع ھوتی تھی اس پر حسب ضرورت مولانا محمد احسن حاشئے لکھتے تھے اس طرح کتاب کی افادیت بڑھ جاتی تھی یہ مطبع بریلی میں مولانا محمد احسن کے قیام بریلی تک

---

(۱) منشی جمال الدین ولد وجیہہ الدین قدیم وطن بوریہ سہارنپور تھا ۔ سکھوں کی تاخت وتاراج کے زمانہ میں بزرگوں نے قصبہ کوتانہ متصل شاھجہاں آباد سکونت اختیار کرلی ۔ منشی جمال الدین سنہ ۱۲۱۶ھ میں پیدا ہوئے مولانا مملوک علی کے درس میں شریک ہوئے ۔ شاہ عبدالعزیز و شاہ رفیع الدین سے بھی فیض پایا ۔ شاہ محمد اسحاق اورمحمد یعقوب سے تعلیم کی تکمیل کی ۔ تحصیل علم سے فارغ ھو کر اول اندور میں رزیڈنٹ کے دفتر میں ملازم رہے پھر بھوپال گئے اور مدارالمہامی کے درجے تک پہونچے ۔ نواب صدیق حسن خاں کی پہلی شادی منشی صاحب کی صاحبزادی سے ہوئی تھی ۔ منشی جمال الدین نے ایک کتاب فرھنگ قرآن لکھی تھی جس کا نام کوکب دری تھا ۔ ۲۷ محرم سنہ ۱۲۹۹ھ کو انتقال ھوا ۔

قائم رہا مولانا محمد احسن نے بریلی سنہ ۱۲۹۴ھ کے بعد چھوڑی لہذا مطبع بھی ختم ہو گیا مطبع صدیقی بریلی کم و بیش سولہ سال قائم رہا - اس مطبع نے علوم اسلامیہ کی ترویج و اشاعت میں بڑا کام کیا - شاید یہاں یہ ذکر بھی بے محل نہ ہو کہ دھلی کا مشہور مطبع مجتبائی مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی کے ربیب مولوی عبدالاحد کی ملکیت تھا مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی نے مولوی عبدالاحد کی پرورش بہت اچھے طریقہ پر کی ۱ - مولوی عبدالاحد نے حفظ قرآن کے بعد مولانا محمد احسن سے درس نظامی کی تکمیل کی سنہ ۱۸۶۹ء میں بریلی کالج سے انٹرنس پاس کیا اور سنہ ۱۸۷۵ء میں الہ آباد سے وکالت کا امتحان درجہ اول میں پاس کیا - سنہ ۱۸۸۶ء میں منشی ممتاز علی ابن شیخ امجد علی سے مطبع مجتبائی دھلی مولوی عبدالاحد نے مبلغ پانسو روپیہ میں خریدا - اس مطبع سے عربی - فارسی اور اردو کی کتابیں بہت بڑی تعداد میں طبع و شائع ہوئیں - غرض مطبع مجتبائی نے بھی علوم اسلامیہ کی بڑی خدمات انجام دی ھیں جو تاریخ علم و ادب میں زریں حروف سے لکھی جائینگی - اس طرح مطبع مجتبائی دھلی دراصل مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی ایک شاخ تھا -

مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے متعلق ایک کتب خانہ بھی تھا جس میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی مطبوعات کے علاوہ نول کشور پریس

---

(۱) مولوی عبدالاحد کی عمر چھ ماہ کی تھی کہ ان کے والد ''غلام محمد،، کا انتقال ہو گیا - ان کی والدہ اوز ایک بہن بعمر ڈھائی سال تھیں - یہ لوگ بنارس کے رہنے والے تھے مولانا محمد احسن اسوقت بنارس کالج میں پروفیسر تھے اور والدۂ عبدالاحد کے ساتھہ مولانا محمد احسن نے نکاح کر لیا تھا -

لکھنئو ، احمدی پریس دھلی، نظامی پریس کانپور ، حسینی پریس بمبئی نیز دیگر مطابع کی مطبوعات بھی فروخت ھوتی تھیں - مطبع صدیقی کی مطبوعات کے مستقل خریداروں میں مولانا احمد علی محدث سھارنپوری، مولوی سبحان بخش شکارپوری، مولانا محمد یعقوب نانوتوی، مولانا رشید احمد گنگوھی، مولوی محمد حسن سھارنپوری، مولوی عبدالقیوم بھوپالی، مولوی ذوالفقار علی دیوبندی، مولوی محمد مظھر نانوتوی اور مولوی فضل الرحمان دیو بندی وغیرہ جیسے مقتدر علماء شامل تھے اور پھر ان حضرات سے مولانا محمد احسن کے ذاتی تعلقات بھی تھے - مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی مطبوعات تمام ملک میں مشھور و مقبول تھیں - ھوشنگ آباد، کانپور، الہ آباد، رنگون، گوالیار - انبالہ ، جبل پور، آگرہ ، بنارس، بمبئی، سھسرام، جونپور، غازی پور، مظفر پور، دیو بند، للت پور، کلکتہ، اجمیر، لکھنئو، عظیم آباد، سھارنپور، تھانہ بھون، بھاگلپور دھلی اور چھپرہ وغیرہ تک جاتی تھیں جیسا کہ مولانا محمد احسن کی قلمی بیاض سے اندازہ ھوتا ھے - بعض مقامات کے مطابع اپنی فہرست کتب میں خاص طور سے مطبوعات مطبع صدیقی بریلی کا عنوان لکھتے تھے - اب ھم مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی ان مطبوعات کا ذکر کرتے ھیں جو ھمارے مطالعہ و علم میں آئی ھیں -

حجتہ اللہ البالغہ

حضرت شاہ ولی اللہ دھلوی کی یہ مشھور کتاب حسب فرمائش منشی جمال الدین مدارالمھام بھوپال سب سے اول مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں ربیع الاول سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ میں طبع ھوئی - مقابلہ، تصحیح و تحشیہ کے فرائض مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی نے انجام دئیے - مولانا کے پیش نظر تصحیح و مقابلہ کے لئے حجتہ اللہ البالغہ کے چار نسخے

مفتی سعداللہ مرادآبادی، مولوی ارشاد حسین رامپوری، مولوی ریاض الدین کا کوروی اور مولوی احمد حسن مرادآبادی کے رہے مولانا محمد احسن نے مندرجہ ذیل قطعہ تاریخ لکھا ہے ۔

احمداللہ قاضی الاوطار	معطی العلم معلی الافکار
واصلی علی النبی الہادی	سیدالخلق احمدالمختار
بعد ہذا فانہا حکم	جمعت الکرام والاخیار
رحمتہ اللہ من افاد بہا	ماسمعنا بمثلہ الاخبار
واذاتم طبعہا کملا	و مددنا بعا مہاالابصار
فاذا ہاتف یقول ان کتب	حجتہ اللہ ہاذہ الاسرار [1]

سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ

دیگر

حجتہ اللہ البالغہ مکملہ

سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ

ٹھیک ۶۶ سال کے بعد سنہ ۱۳۵۲ھ میں حجتہ اللہ البالغہ مصر میں طبع ہوئی اتفاق ہے ۔ کہ مصر کی علمی جماعت محی العلم والاصلاح کی طرف سے بھی محمد منیر دمشقی نے یہ کتاب شائع کی اور بریلی میں بھی مولوی محمد منیر (برادر مولانا محمد احسن) کے اہتمام سے طبع ہوئی تھی ۔ محمد منیر دمشقی نے بریلی ہی کے اڈیشن کو چھاپا ہے ۔ حاشیہ مولانا محمد احسن کا ہے مگر افسوس کہ اس کا ذکر نہیں کیا ہے اس کے بعد مصر میں یہ کتاب متعدد بار چھپی اس کتاب کا اردو ترجمہ مختلف حضرات نے کیا ہے ۔ مگر مولوی عبدالرحیم مرحوم صدر شعبہ عربی و فارسی اسلامیہ

(۱) باثبات الالف للضرورة (منہ)

کالج پشاور نے حجۃاللہ البالغہ کا جو ترجمہ کیا ہے وہ تمام دیگر اردو ترجموں سے بہتر، صاف اور صحیح ہے۔ اس کتاب کا انگریزی ترجمہ پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی عنقریب شائع کرے گی۔ فرانسیسی زبان میں ڈاکٹر حمیداللہ ترجمہ کر رہے ہیں۔

ازالتہ الخفاء عن خلافتہ الخلفاء

شاہ ولی اللہ دہلوی کی دوسری معرکتہ الآرا تصنیف ہے۔ یہ بھی سب سے اول مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں حسب فرمائش منشی جمال الدین مدارالمہام بھوپال طبع ہوئی۔ اس کتاب کے مولانا محمد احسن کو صرف تین نسخے تصحیح و مقابلہ کیلئے مل سکے۔ تحشیہ کا کام مولانا محمد احسن نے بڑی محنت سے انجام دیا جیسا کہ کتاب کے آخر میں خود لکھتے ہیں۔

" باوجود تلاش کثیر صرف سہ نسخہ بہم شدہ بودند یکے از آنہا جناب منشی صاحب ممدوح (منشی جمال الدین مدارالمہام) از بھوپال فرستادند۔ دوم جناب فضیلت ماب مکرمی مولوی احمد حسن صاحب مرادآبادی عنایت فرمودند و سوم المعی زمن جناب مولوی نورالحسن صاحب مبرور کاندھلوی مرحمت فرمودند ہر چند ہر سہ نسخہ جات مملو از اغلاط بودند مگر بمقابلہ یک دگر حق صریح اکثر ظاہر می شد و آنجا کہ ہر سہ نسخہ در غلطی موافق بودند رجوع بکتب دیگر کردہ می شدہ اید۔ اگر کتب دیگر ہم نشانے بہم رسید چیزے از محو واثبات بعمل آوردہ می شد و اکثر جا از تصرف خود بر حاشیہ اطلاع کردہ ام "

کتاب کے آخرس قطعات ذیل درج ھیں -

از مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی

بود میل کلکم زبہر سجود بدرگاه حی و ولی و قریب
که از فضل خود باب رحمت کشود پئے ختم این نسخئه بس غریب
بروح مصنف خدایا زجود کنی رحم پیہم بجاه حبیب
ز تقریر خود حرف شک را زدود زھے نسخه وردو احسن طبیب
پیے سال طبعش دلم را ربود تفکر بمیدان صدر رحیب
زهاتف یکایک ندائے شنود دلیل خلافت بود این عجیب

سنه ۱۲۸۶ھ

از سید احمد شاه بریلوی

بحمدالله این نسخه بے مثالی شده طبع در ساعت با سعادت
بتصحیح تحریر احسن ملقب سہمات او یافت حسن کفایت
چه از حل مشکل چه شرح غریبش تحشی او داد، داد وضاحت
بیابند بینندگاں خط وافی زکشف غوامض با قصای غایت
بلے ذات اومنبع علم و جوهر چه رانم سخن از کمال و درایت
چو تاریخ طبعش بجستم زهاتف بحر مود کافی بیان خلافت

سنه ۱۲۸۶ھ

یه کتاب آجتک دوباره شائع نہیں هوئی هے حالانکه اسکی اهمیت کا تقاضه هے که اس کا تنقیدی اور محشی ایڈیشن شائع کیا جائے - شوال سنه ۱۳۲۴ھ سنه ۱۹۰۶ء میں منشی انشاءالله نے حمیدیه اسٹیم پریس لاهور سے اس کا ترجمه شائع کیا جو که کثیرالاغلاط هے اس کتاب کا اول و چہارم حصه مولانا عبدالشکور

صاحب لکھنوی نے اپنے ترجمہ کے ساتھ شائع کیا ہے[1] ۔

تہذیب الایمان

مولانا محمد احسن نے ابن قیم کی مشہور کتاب اغاثۃاللھفان کا اردو ترجمہ حسب فرمائش منشی جمال الدین مدارالمہام ریاست بھوپال تہذیب الایمان کے نام سے کیا یہ کتاب رد بدعات میں خوب ہے ۶۴۸ صفحات پر مشتمل ہے ۔ کتاب کے ترجمہ اور طباعت کا کام صرف ۷ ماہ میں ختم ہوا ۔ ترجمہ صاف اور سلیس ہے نظم کا ترجمہ نظم میں کیا گیا ہے یہ کتاب رجب سنہ ۱۲۸۳ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں طبع ہوئی ہے ۔ قطعہ تاریخ از مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی ۔

مکائد یہ شیطان کے جب چھپ چکے ہوا بہر تاریخ دیوانہ قلب
ندا ہاتف غیب نے دی اسے کہ لکھدئے لذکریٰ لمن کان قلب
سنہ ۱۲۸۳ھ

اس کتاب کے رد میں ایک مختصر سا رسالہ تبعیدالشیاطین بامداد جنودالحق المبین کے نام سے مولوی عبدالصمد سہسوانی نے لکھا جو انسٹی ٹیوٹ پریس علی گڑھ میں چھپ چکا ہے ۔

---

(۱) غالباً سنہ ۱۹۵۹ء میں کراچی کے ناشر محمد سعید اینڈ سنس نے ازالۃالخفا کا اردو ترجمہ دو جلدوں میں شائع کیا ہے یہ مولوی انشاءاللہ والا ترجمہ ہے جو قطعاً قابل اعتبار نہیں ہے مترجمین میں مولوی عبدالشکور کا بھی نام شامل کر لیا ہے کراچی کے مشہور ناشر نور محمد کارخانہ تجارت کتب مولانا عبدالشکور لکھنوی کا ازالۃالخفا کا مکمل ترجمہ شائع کر رہے ہیں جس کی پہلی جلد سنہ ۱۹۶۰ء میں نکل چکی ہے بقیہ تین جلدیں زیر اشاعت ہیں ۔

احسن المسائل

فقه کی مشہور کتاب کنزالدقائق کا فارسی ترجمه شاه اهل الله دهلوی (برادر شاه ولی الله دهلوی) نے کیا تها - مولانا محمد احسن نے اپنے بهائی مولوی محمد منیر کی فرمائش پر فارسی سے اردو میں اس کتاب کا ترجمه کیا اور احسن المسائل نام رکها توضیح و تشریح کیلئے حاشئے اور حسب ضرورت متن میں اضافه فرمایا - قطعه تاریخ از مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی -

هوئی فقهی مسائل میں کتاب بے نظیر احسن
نهووے سیر جس کے دیکهنے سے نفس شائق کا
سن ختم اس کا میں چاها تو هاتف غیب سے بولا
لکهو گنج حقائق ترجمه کنزالاقائق هے

۱۲۸۴ھ

احسن المسائل کا پہلا ایڈیشن مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چهپا دوباره مولانا محمد احسن کی زندگی هی میں بعد نظرثانی مطبع مجتبائی دهلی میں طبع هوا - احسن المسائل مختلف مطابع مین چهپ چکا هے - سنه ۱۹۱۹ء میں قیومی پریس کانپور میں مولوی وصی علی صاحب ملیح آبادی کے اردو حاشئے کے ساتهه طبع هوا مگر پریس میں آگ لگنے سے تمام اسٹاک جل گیا - کسی طرح اس کتاب کے کچھ نسخے نکل گئے تهے اسی نسخه کو حال میں لاهور کے مشہور ناشر کتب سراج الدین اینڈ سنس نے چهاپ لیا هے - اور بد دیانتی یه کی هے که مترجم کی حیثیت سے مولانا محمد احسن کا نام حذف کر دیا هے اور محشی مولوی وصی علی ملیح آبادی کا نام باقی رکها هے .

کنزالدقائق کا ایک اردو ترجمہ ظہیر الحقائق کے نام سے ظہیر احمد ظہیری سہسوانی المتوفی سنہ ۱۳۶۱ھ نے بھی کیا ہے جو لاہور میں چھپا ہے۔

شفاء قاضی عیاض

شفاء قاضی عیاض کو سنہ ۱۲۸۷ھ میں مولانا محمد احسن نے تصحیح و تحشیہ کے ساتھ مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے شائع کیا۔ نصف کتاب پر مولانا احمد حسن مرادآبادی نے حاشیہ لکھا ہے بقیہ نصف حاشیہ مولانا محمد حسن نے پورا کیا۔ قطعہ تاریخ درج ذیل ہے۔

بذل المصحح جهدنا و عناء ـ ليحوزمن خيرالورى بشفاعته
يا قارئا بالله قل فى حقه ـ يغشاء رب العالمين برحمته
شئت عام الطبع ارخ قائلا ـ يمنه كمل الشفاء براقته
سنه ۱۲۸۷ھ

زادالمخدرات

یہ کتاب تعلیم نسواں کے بیان حقوق میں تالیف کی گئی ہے گورنمنٹ نے از راہ قدردانی زادالمخدرات کی پانچسو جلدیں موالف کتاب مولانا محمد احسن سے خریدیں[1]۔ یہ کتاب سنہ ۱۲۸۸ھ میں لکھی گئی نام تاریخی ہے مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں طبع ہوئی ہے۔

غایتہ الاوطار

فقہ حنفی کی مشہور و متداول کتاب درمختار کا اردو ترجمہ مشہور عالم مولانا خرم علی بلہوری نے حسب فرمائش نواب

---

(۱) تنبیہ الجہال بالہام الباسط المتال از مولانا حافظ بخش ساکن آنولہ ضلع بریلی (بہارستان پریس لکھنؤ سنہ ۱۲۹۱ھ)۔

ذوالفقارالدولہ رئیس باندہ سنہ ۱۲۵۸ھ میں کتاب النکاح سے شروع کیا - محرم سنہ ۱۲۷۱ھ میں ترجمہ قریب اختتام تھا کہ پیغام اجل آ گیا[1] مولانا محمد احسن نے اس ترجمہ کو ان کے ورثاء سے اشاعت کی غرض سے خریدا اور بقیہ ترجمہ از باب الاذان تا کتاب الصلواۃ مکمل کیا اور جن مقامات کو مولانا خرم علی نے چھوڑ دیا تھا ان کو درست اور پورا کیا اس کتاب کی تصحیح و تکمیل میں ان کے بڑے بھائی مولانا محمد مظہر نانوتوی بانی مدرسہ مظاہرالعلوم سہارنپور نے مولانا محمد احسن کو خاص طور سے مدد دی اور پھر چند اصحاب کی شرکت میں اول چوتھی جلد مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے طبع ھوئی - نام غایۃالاوطار رکھا لیکن بعض وجوہ کی بنا پر یہ شرکت کا سلسلہ قائم نہ رہ سکا اور مولانا محمد احسن کو سخت فکر ھوئی - ایک اشتہار اس باب میں طبع کر کے مشتہر کیا نواب کلب علی خاں رئیس رام پور نے طباعت کے جملہ مصارف برداشت کئے اور غایۃالاوطار کی بقیہ تینوں جلدیں بھی سنہ ۱۲۸۸ھ ھی میں مطبع صدیقی سے طبع ھو گئیں - قطعات تاریخ درج ذیل ھے -

از مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی

رشک گلزار چو گر دید زطبع این نسخہ
سال ختمش زرہ فکر بجستم پیہم
از دل غیب ندا داد سر و شم ناگاہ
پے تاریخ بگوفقہ امام اعظم
سنہ ۱۲۸۸ھ

(۱) مولوی عبدالحلیم چشتی کی تحقیق ھے کہ مولوی خرم علی کا انتقال سنہ ۱۲۷۳ھ میں ھوا (دیکھئے معارف اعظم گڑہ مئی تا جولائی سنہ ۱۹۵۷ء) -

دیگر

جب ہو چکی یہ کتاب مطبوع   ہم رنگ بہار تازہ گلشن
پایا سر حسن سے حسن طبع   خرم سے ھے یادگار احسن

سنہ ۱۲۸۸ھ

از میر ہدایت علی ہدایت بریلوی

باھتمام مولوی صاحب سے جب   مسئلے آسان و مشکل چھپ گئے
سال یہ دل سے ہدایت کے ملا   دین اعظم کے مسائل چھپ گئے

سنہ ۱۲۸۸ھ

حمایت الاسلام

جب سر سید احمد خاں سنہ ۱۸۶۹ء میں لندن گئے تھے تو ان کے پیش نظر ولیم میور کی کتاب لائف آف محمد (صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم) کا جواب لکھنا بھی مقصود تھا - چنانچہ انہوں نے کافی مواد لندن میں جمع کیا - اسی سلسلہ میں انگلستان کے مشہور مصنف گاڈ فری ہیگنس (Godfrey Higgins) کی کتاب اپالوجی (Apology) جو کہ مصنف نے تائید و حمایت اسلام اور عیسائیوں کے اعتراضات کی تردید میں لکھی تھی سر سید احمد خاں نے بہت تلاش و جستجو کے بعد کسی جرمن کتب فروش سے دس گنی قیمت دے کر حاصل کی - سر سید احمد خاں کو خیال ہوا کہ اس کتاب کا ترجمہ اردو میں بھی ہونا چاہئے - چنانچہ مولانا محمد احسن کو یہ کام سپرد کیا گیا - مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی نے انگریزی سے اس کتاب کا اردو میں ترجمہ کیا[1] - مولف تنبیہ الجہال

---

(۱) حیات جاوید (حصہ دوم - دینی خدمات) از مولانا الطاف حسین حالی مطبوعہ مطبع مفید عام آگرہ (سنہ ۱۹۰۳ء) -

کا کہنا ہے کہ اس ترجمہ میں مولانا محمد احسن کے ایک شاگرد فضل رسول بریلوی (طالب علم بریلی کالج) بھی مددگار رہے - اس زمانہ میں مولانا محمد احسن کے خلاف بریلی میں مولوی نقی علی خاں المتوفی سنہ ۱۲۹۷ھ (والد مولوی احمد رضا خاں بریلوی) نے ایک محاذ قائم کر لیا تھا - لہذا مولانا محمد احسن نے اس ترجمہ کو منشی عبدالودود کے نام سے سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ سنہ ۱۸۷۳ء میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے شائع کیا - منشی عبدالودود کے متعلق معلوم نہ ہو سکا کہ یہ کون صاحب تھے - ترجمہ نہایت صاف اور سلیس ہے - کتاب حمایت الاسلام سر سید احمد خاں کے مصارف سے طبع ہوئی اس کے جملہ حقوق محمڈن اینگلو اورینٹل کالج فنڈ کمیٹی کے لئے محفوظ رہے -

ترجمہ کنزالدقائق

فقہ کی مشہور کتاب کنزالاقائق کا اردو ترجمہ مولوی محمد سلطان شاہجہانپوری (مولف تذکرالاخوان) نے مولوی ہدایت یار خاں (ابن مولوی الہ‌یار خاں) تاجر کتب بریلی کی فرمائش پر تحفۃالعجم فی فقہ‌الامام‌الاعظم کے نام سے کیا جو کہ مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں طبع ہوا ہے -

انتصارالحق معہ معیارالحق

میاں نذیر حسین دھلوی کی مشہور کتاب معیارالحق کا جواب مولوی ارشاد حسین رام پوری نے انتصارالحق لکھا مولانا محمد احسن نے انتصارالحق معہ معیارالحق اپنے اہتمام سے محرم سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے شائع کی - انتصارالحق درحوض اور معیارالحق برحاشیہ ہے - قطعہ تاریخ از مولوی قاسم علی خواہاں بریلوی -

کیا خوب لکھا ثبوت تقلید　　مسرور نہ کس طرح ہو خاطر
لکھا خواہاں نے سال تاریخ　　بے مثل ہے یہ کتاب نایاب
سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ

ایانع الجنی فی اسانید الشیخ عبدالغنی

محمد محسن بہاری ترھتی کی عربی تصنیف ہے شاہ عبدالغنی مجدوی دھلوی کی اسانید کو اس رسالہ میں جمع کیا گیا ہے۔ شاہ عبدالغنی کے والد شاہ ابو سعید مجددی، شاہ ولی اللہ دھلوی شاہ عبدالعزیز دھلوی وغیرہ کے مختصر حالات بھی شامل ہیں۔ یہ کتاب سنہ ۱۲۸۷ھ میں مطبع صدیقی سے شائع ہوئی ہے۔ قطعہ تاریخ از مولانا محمد احسن۔

مالله احسن تحفته من محسن　　اکرم به من لوذعی متقن
اتممتها طبعاً و قلت یتمنا　　اعنی لعام الطبع عن عبدالغنی
سنہ ۱۲۸۷ھ

سنہ ۱۳۶۰ھ میں مفتی محمد شفیع دیوبندی نے ایک مختصر سا رسالہ بطور تتمہ الیانع الجنی مصطفائی پریس مظفر نگر میں طبع کرا کے دارالاشاعت دیو بند سے شائع کیا جس کا "نام الازدیاد السنی علی الیانع الجنی المسمی الدر المنضود فی اسانید شیخ الہند محمود ہے"، اس میں علمائے دیو بند کی اسانیہ مختصر طور سے درج ہیں۔

ریاض الحسنات

سیرت رسول کریم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم پر مختصر سی کتاب ہے منشی نصیرالدین نصیر مرادآبادی نے کسی عربی کتاب سے اردو

میں ترجمہ کیا ہے - زبان سلیس ہے - سنہ ۱۲۸۷ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی چھپی ہے - قطعہ تاریخ -

بہر تاریخ این رسالہ کہ ہست مونس القلوب فی الخلوات
بے سر آہ آمد بہ مصراع قلت بالحق احمد الصلوات

سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ

انوارالعارفین

مولوی محمد حسین چشتی مرادآبادی نے صوفیائے کرام کے حالات میں ایک ضخیم کتاب انوارالعارفین لکھی ہے - یہ کتاب سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے - آخر میں مولوی قاسم علی خواہاں بریلوی کا قطعہ تاریخ طباعت درج ہے -

کیوں نہ مرغوب ہو زمانے کو مخزن ذکر اصفیائے ہے یہ
سر اسرار سے تو اے خواہاں لکھ کہ تاریخ اولیائے ہے یہ

سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ

اس کتاب کا دوسرا اڈیشن نول کشور پریس لکھنؤ سے سنہ ۱۸۷۶ء میں شائع ہوا -

ارشاد محمدی

اردو میں ایک مختصر سا رسالہ مشہور عالم شیخ محمد تھانوی کی تصنیف ہے جو انہوں نے اپنے ارادتمند مولوی فدا علی میرٹھی اور منشی محراب علی انوپ شہری کی درخواست پر سنہ ۱۲۷۷ھ میں لکھا - اس رسالہ میں شیخ محمد تھانوی نے اپنے سلسلہ کے مشائخ کے ارشادات درج کئے ہیں اور تصوف کے مضامین بیان کئے ہیں مولانا شیخ محمد تھانوی نے لکھا ہے کہ ان کو بعمر ہفت سالگی

تھی کہ سنہ ۱۸۲۱ء میں اول شرف صحبت حضرت سید احمد شہید سے ہوا یہ کتاب ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے آخر میں قطعات ذیل درج ہیں ۔

از مولوی غلام بسم اللہ بریلوی

از شیخ محمد انجلاؔ یافت ارشاد محمدی نہفتہ
ده ده چه در علوم باطن در سلک سطور شیخ سفتہ

سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ

از منشی محمد احسان اللہ مخیر

چوں شیخ محمد اعلم عصر ارشاد محمدی رقم زد
دریافت مخیر از سر قدس تاریخ ذات پاک احمد

سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ

از مولوی قاسم علی خواہاں بریلوی

چھپ کے تیار فضل حق سے ہوا طرز افکار اولیائے کرام
سال اس کا با سر بہجت نادر اعلیٰ چھپی کتاب تمام

سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ

سعادت دارین

مولوی سعدالدین بدایونی نے رد شرک و بدعات میں یہ کتاب لکھی ہے انداز تحریر عام فہم اور سلیس ہے ۔ مراسم و بدعات کا رد کیا گیا ہے ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے ۔

رفاہ المسلمین

شاہ محمد اسحاق دہلوی کے مشہور رسالہ مسائل اربعین کا اردو ترجمہ شوال سنہ ۱۲۵۶ھ میں مولف سعادت دارین مولوی

سعدالدین بدایونی نے کیا - اس میں بطور شرح مزید اضافہ کرکے رفاہ المسلمین نام رکھا یہ کتاب مختلف مطابع کے علاوہ مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

(ہدیہ اسنے) ترجمہ ہدایۃ الاعمیٰ

شیخ حسین کشمیری کی فارسی تصنیف ہدایۃالاعمیٰ کا اردو ترجمہ مولوی محمد نظام و مولوی قطب الدین ساکنان شاہجہانپور (روہیل کھنڈ) نے حاجی حسن علی بریلوی کی تحریک پر محرم سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ میں کیا - یہ کتاب مولوی حافظ غلام حسین و عنایت حسین کی سعی سے مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں سنہ ۱۲۸۹ھ میں چھپی کتاب مسائل تصوف سے متعلق ہے اور بدعت و فسق کا رد کیا گیا ہے دنیا پرست صوفی اور پیر جوالحاد و بے دینی کا راستہ اختیار کرتے ہیں ان کو شریعت کی پابندی کی ترغیب دی گئی ہے - قطعہ تاریخ از مولوی قاسم علی خواہاں بریلوی -

تصوف کا دریا ہے کوزے میں بند
کہوں کیا میں خواہاں کہ ہے کیا کتاب
پے سال از روئے ایماں کہو
حقیقت میں چھاپی یہ اعلیٰ کتاب

سنہ ۱۲۸۹ھ

حکایات الصالحین فی احوال الصادقین

مولوی حضور احمد (ولد نور احمد) سہسوانی نے عربی سے اردو میں ترجمہ کیا ہے - صلحاء و صوفیاء کی سبق آموز حکایات ہیں

چند سال میں اس کتاب کے تین اڈیشن نکل گئے اور تینوں اڈیشن مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپے - مولف کتاب مولوی حضور احمد نے خاص طور سے حسن طباعت کے سلسلہ میں مولانا محمد احسن کا ذکر کیا ہے -

رسالہ اصل الاصول

علم نحو میں مولوی محمد حسن بریلوی صدرالصدور کی تالیف ہے مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

غایتہ الکلام فی حقیقتہ التصدیق عندالحکماء والامام

یہ بھی مولوی محمد حسن صدرالصدور کی تصنیف ہے اور مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

خلعتہ الہنود

رد ہنود میں سید حسین شاہ بخاری کی تالیف ہے سنہ ۱۲۸۱ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

تحذیر الناس

مولانا محمد قاسم نانوتوی کا مشہور رسالہ تحذیر الناس (در تائید اثر ابن عباس) سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپا - یہ رسالہ ایک استفتاء کا جواب ہے جسکے مستفتی مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی ہیں - اسی مسئلہ اثر ابن عباس کو آڑ بنا کر بریلی میں مولانا محمد احسن کی سخت مخالفت کی گئی -

سراج السالکین

مولوی محمد منیر نانوتوی نے امام غزالی کے رسالہ منہاج العابدین

کا اردو ترجمہ سراج السالکین کے نام سے کیا جو سنہ ۱۲۸۱ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپا ہے -

سوط الجبار علی متن الکفار (کامل)

مولوی محمد علی بچھرایونی کی تالیف ہے سنہ ۱۲۸۶ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

ظفر مبین علی جمیع الشیاطین

یہ بھی مولوی محمد علی بچھرایونی کی تالیف ہے اور سنہ ۱۲۹۰ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے -

عقائد نظامیہ

مولانا شاہ فخرالدین دھلوی ابن شیخ نظام الدین اورنگ آبادی کی تالیف ہے سنہ ۱۲۸۷ھ میں مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں چھپی ہے اس کتاب کا نام پروفیسر خلیق احمد نظامی نے اپنی کتاب ''تاریخ مشائخ چشت،، میں نظام العقائد لکھدیا ہے جو صحیح نہیں ہے -

احسن الاخبار

مطبع صدیقی بریلی سے ایک ہفتہ وار اخبار ''احسن الاخبار'' کے نام سے نکلتا تھا اس اخبار کی اڈیٹری کے فرائض مولانا محمد احسن نانوتوی انجام دیتے تھے اور اس کا دفتر درزی چوک بریلی میں تھا -

یہ مختصر ترین فہرست مطبع صدیقی بریلی کی صرف ان مطبوعات کی ہے جو ہمارے مطالعہ و علم میں آئیں ورنہ ان تمام مطبوعات کی فہرست و تفصیلات مہیا کرنا ناممکن ہے جو سولہ سال کے عرصہ میں اس مطبع صدیقی بریلی میں طبع ہوئیں -

Some Publications of the Pakistan Historical Society

1. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, Vol. I, Rs. 25/-
2. ,, ,, ,, Vol. II, Pt. I, Rs. 15/-
3. ,, ,, ,, Vol. II, Pt. II, Rs. 15/-
4. ,, ,, ,, Vol. III, Pt. I, Rs. 20/-
5. *A Short History of Hind-Pakistan* (bound) ... Rs 10/-
   (unbound) ... Rs. 8/-
6. *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*—by Dr. I. H. Qureshi ... Rs. 15/-
7. *Dhakhirat al-Khawanin*, Vol. I—Edited by Dr. S. Moinul Haq ... Rs. 18/-
8. *Barani's History of the Tughluqs*—By Dr. S. Moinul Haq ... Rs. 6/8/-
9. *Tadhkiratul Waqi'at*—by Jawhar Aftabchi (Urdu Translation with Introduction and Notes by Dr. S. Moinul Haq) ... Rs. 6/4/-
10. *Dreams of Tipu Sultan* (Eng. Translation)—by Dr. Mahmud Husain ... Rs. 4/8/-
11. *Mashahir-i-Islam* (Urdu Translation of *A'lamul Islam*—by Dr. Hasan Ibrahim, Cairo) ... Rs. 5/-
12. *Tarajimul Fudala of 'Allama Fadl-i-Imam* (Persian Text and Eng. Translation) ... Rs. 2/8/-
13. *Tadhkirah i 'Ulama i Hind* of Mawlawi Rahman Ali (Urdu Translation and Notes by Mohammad Ayub Qadri) ... Rs. 15/-
14. *Foundation of Islamic International Jurisprudence*—by Dr. Hans Kruse ... Rs. 1/4/-
15. *Ibn Bajjah's 'Ilm al-Nafs* (Eng. Translation—by Dr. S. H. Ma'sumī) ... Rs. 12/-
16. *Islamic State of Pakistan*—by Ervin Brinbaum ... Rs. 2/-
17. *Memoirs* of Hakim Ahsanullah Khan ... Rs. 2/-
18. *Hispano-Arab Libraries* ... Rs. 2/-
19. *Proceedings of Pakistan History Conferences*, ... Rs. 2/-
    1951, 1952, 1953, 1954 & 1955 ... Rs. 7/8/- each
20. *Proceedings of Pakistan History Conferences*, 1956 & 1958 ... Rs. 10/- each
21. *Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society*, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957, 1958, 1959 & 1960 Rs. 3/- per issue.

30, New Karachi Co-operative Housing Society,
Karachi-5.

Educational Press, Karachi.